

SLINGSHOT

Issue #80
Feb/March 2004

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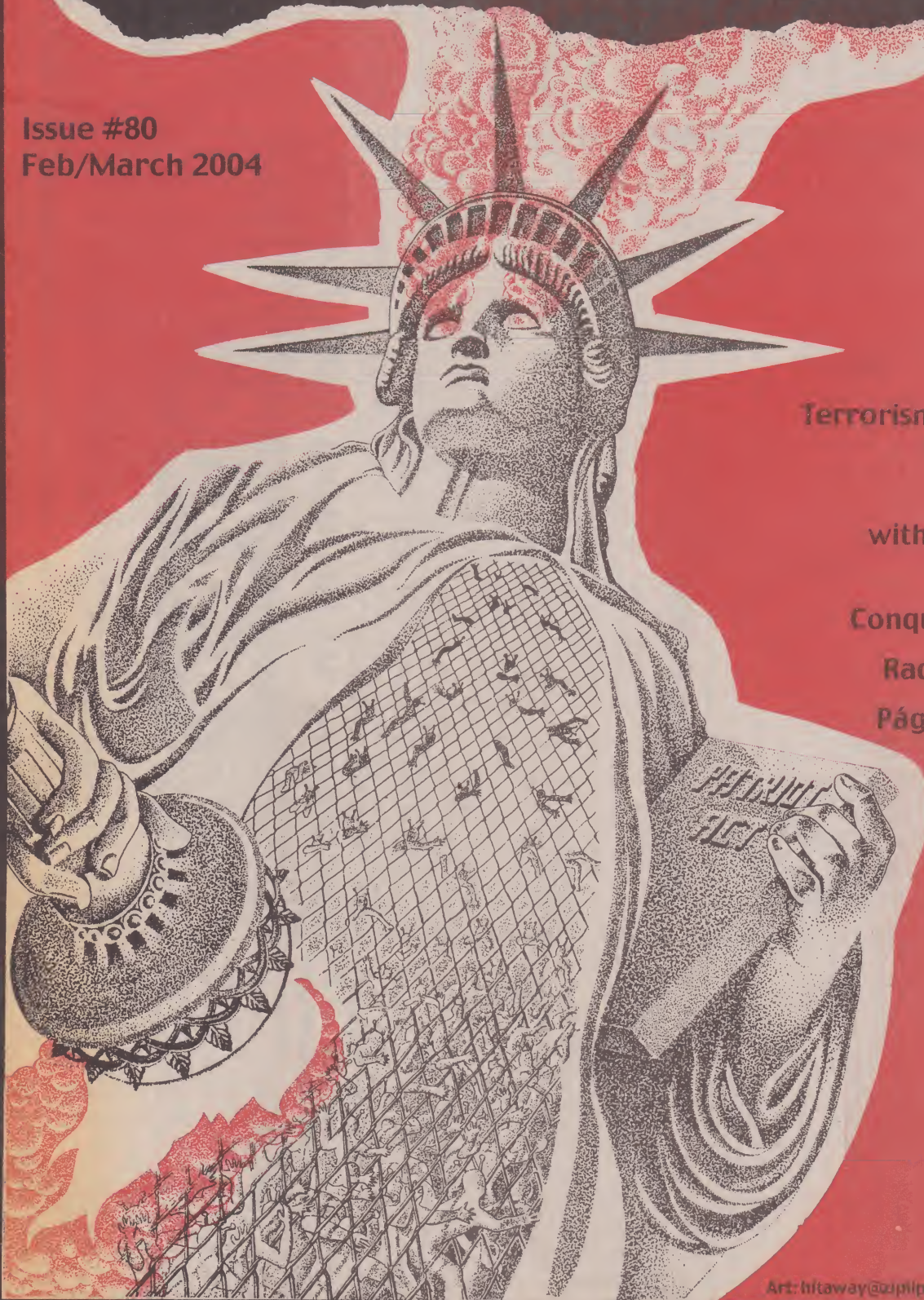
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Art: hitaway@zipip.com

SLINGSHOT

Breastfeeding at the Barricades

By Rahula Janowski

When I sat in the NICU (neonatal intensive care unit) at the hospital and nursed my daughter for the first time, I knew in a visceral way that my life was forever changed. I felt it in my bones (not to mention my uterus and my nipples).

So much about discussing parenting quickly becomes cliché. And so many of the clichés are true. I have never been as in love with or committed to anyone as I am to my daughter. I have never been as tired as I was in the first three months of her life. Being her mother has made me look at the world in a whole new way.

My parents thought they could change the world by changing their lifestyle, and so they dropped out and went "back to the land." I thought the world needed to be changed through direct confrontation and intervention, and so I left the land and went "back to the city" where I remain, and I hope the world is changing but it's hard to tell how much and whether any of it is for the better.

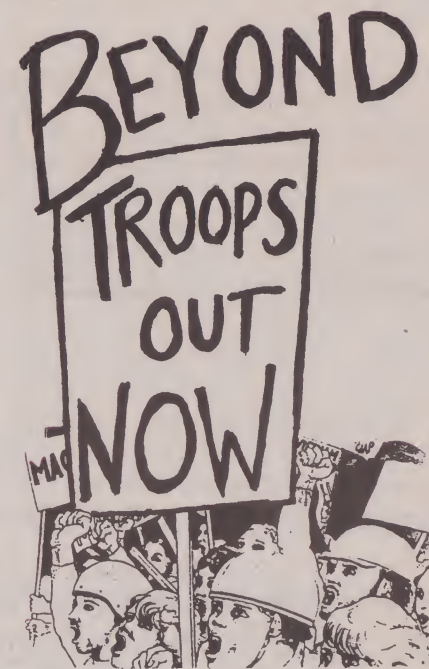
I still believe the world needs confrontation and intervention to change, but I also think a bit of lifestyle change, such as how we raise our kids, is part of that picture too. I keep returning to the idea that we parents can change the world. I keep thinking about the



experiences, so it seems worth considering the idea that how society approaches parenting can shape society.

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learn how to relate to the world by the way that we treat them, and when we are disrespectful, dismissive, cruel and indifferent to our children as a way to make them strong, they grow into disrespectful, cruel, and



By PB Floyd

What can radicals do to resist the US occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan aside from making vague demands of "Troops Out Now"? The occupations are dragging on and on, gradually fading from the media spotlight and becoming just one more unpleasant but routine aspect of "business as usual."

Let's start an Iraq and Afghanistan solidarity movement in the United States, reminiscent of the solidarity movement US citizens built in the 1980s with the people of

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My parents thought they could change the world by changing their lifestyle, and so they dropped out and went "back to the land." I thought the world needed to be changed through direct confrontation and intervention, and so I left the land and went "back to the city" where I remain, and I hope the world is changing but it's hard to tell how much and whether any of it is for the better.

I still believe the world needs confrontation and intervention to change, but I also think a bit of lifestyle change, such as how we raise our kids, is part of that picture too. I keep returning to the idea that we parents can change the world. I keep thinking about the ways a capitalist, white supremacist, patriarchal, state-based culture impacts and shapes our children—how children raised in this culture grow into adults who perpetuate these structures and systems. I keep thinking about how to break that cycle.

I am hesitant to talk about how I think our parenting strategies impact our world, because the idea that our problems stem from our approach to raising our kids can look like placing the blame for all of our woes upon the already overburdened shoulders of parents, rather than the psychologists and other "experts" who use their status to pressure parents into unnatural and detached parenting methods. But so much of who we are as people can be tracked to our early childhood



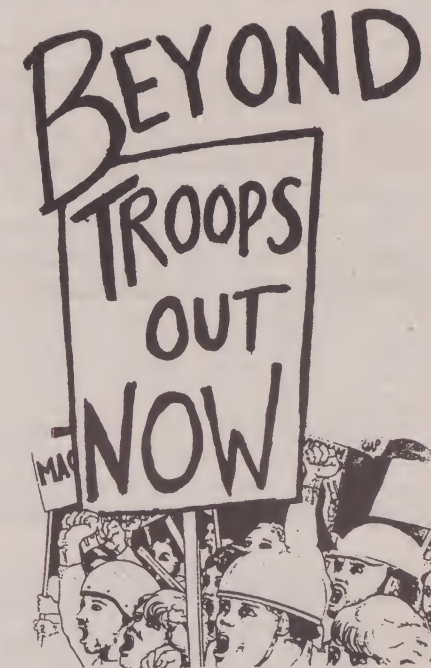
experiences, so it seems worth considering the idea that how society approaches parenting can shape society.

Western culture, the dominant culture of the United States in particular, fetishizes individuality and self reliance to such an extreme that we expect children to be self-sufficient before they learn to talk. Mainstream parenting values self-reliance over support, compassion, and interdependence. As parents we are endlessly cautioned not to "spoil" our babies by meeting their needs, because then they might always expect their need to be met! By responding to our children's needs as though they are frivolous wants, we teach them an inability to distinguish between needs and wants, and we lose the ability to distinguish the difference ourselves. Mainstream parenting philosophy says that a baby's desire to be held and comforted is manipulative, when a compassionate approach tells you that it is a valid need. Our children

learn how to relate to the world by the way that we treat them, and when we are disrespectful, dismissive, cruel and indifferent to our children as a way to make them strong, they grow into disrespectful, cruel and indifferent adults. I am convinced that if compassion were strongly valued in parenting, it would gradually become more valued in our society at large.

I have always loved the concept of building the new world as we destroy the old world. Creating as we destroy, shaping as we tear down. This has shaped my concept of radical parenting. That on the one hand, I need to continue to confront the evil dominant world, to add my thinking and my energy and my strength to the struggle to overthrow capitalism, white supremacy, patriarchy, and the state. On the other hand, I want to raise my child as much as possible as though the world I wish to live in already exists. I want to

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By PB Floyd

What can radicals do to resist the US occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan aside from making vague demands of "Troops Out Now"? The occupations are dragging on and on, gradually fading from the media spotlight and becoming just one more unpleasant but routine aspect of "business as usual."

Let's start an Iraq and Afghanistan solidarity movement in the United States, reminiscent of the solidarity movement US citizens built in the 1980s with the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua. Solidarity movements help keep public attention focused

The key is figuring out how to make grass-roots contacts between Iraqi and American individuals and civil society groups.

on the occupations and their failures, making it more difficult for the government to push a new war against Iran or Syria until the current mess gets resolved. Maybe it could help prevent the US from making any more messes.

A radical solidarity movement would focus

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A radical solidarity movement would focus on proactive alternative visions for Iraq and Afghanistan developed by the Iraqi and Afghan people themselves. In attempting to justify the war, Bush has repeatedly claimed he has “liberated” the Iraqi people and told the world that decisions about Iraq will be made by Iraqis. We need to call him on this lie — Bush’s policies have given power to US corporations and a tiny clique of hand-picked US operatives.

While Iraqi society is highly complex and fractured, two things have become clear: the Iraqis want the occupation to end, and they want direct elections to determine their own future, not the US transition plan which is designed to enhance US control. Under the US plan, caucuses in Iraq’s 18 provinces will select a transitional assembly. The transitional assembly will then select an interim government in June, which will draft an Iraqi constitution.

American solidarity activists could help oppose the US plan here in the belly of the beast, while advocating for more participatory and democratic alternatives.

A solidarity movement will undermine US military policy by humanizing the “enemy” and making human and cultural contacts. For instance, folks can do education about Iraqi and Afghani geography, music, culture, film, crafts, and food. Maybe there are even some Iraqi punk bands?! Activists can push sister city declarations between American cities and occupied cities in Afghanistan and Iraq. We need to avoid the pitfalls of trivialization: this isn’t about middle class folks buying a few

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Terrorism: Normalizing the Global Cop

By The Cell

With the emergence of the age of globalization, war has increasingly taken on a character that may be described as “policing”; that is to say, it has become increasingly normalized. Thus, while systematically necessary, war in the past has generally been viewed as an abnormal event, a scourge to be avoided. The same can be said of violence in general. However, there is one type of violence that in our society takes place as part of the normal social routine: policing. The situation where the police violently disable and apprehend a “suspect” is not generally viewed as problematic or abnormal, and in fact is considered desirable. The war on terror takes up and expands this principle in a process leading to the establishment of a global police state.

The term police state is well known, but it is not immediately clear what specific characteristics distinguish such a state from other possible states. The term is generally associated with a situation in which a policing agency of the state acts outside the law to arbitrarily punish or kill innocent people, in order to intimidate or otherwise subdue the



population in accordance with the repressive political requirements of the government. This formulation, however, seems to more closely describe the activity of “criminals” rather than “policemen”. As we shall see, the two in

principle cannot be clearly delineated.

Alternatively, we may view a police state as a state in which the laws are excessively repressive and entail gross enforcement activity that violates the rights and freedoms which people would otherwise have. At bottom, though, whether the police state apparatus enforces laws or violates them makes no difference: the essential characteristic is the manner in which the laws are enforced or violated. The defining characteristic of a police state is the use of violence or threats of violence for political purposes. This, not coincidentally, is also what is generally taken to be the definition of terrorism.

The distinction between violent crime and terrorism differs primarily in the purposes for which the violence is used: “personal” enrichment in the former case and “political” enrichment in the latter. The phenomenon of “terrorism” is emerging within the global capitalist system in the role that was previously played by “crime”. For example, the recent efforts by certain segments of the US ruling class to include the copying of

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SLINGSHOT

Slingshot is a quarterly, independent, radical newspaper published in the East Bay since 1988.

We can sometimes sense whether the activist scene is expanding or contracting by how many articles get turned in each issue. This issue we were *flooded* with articles, and after cutting a bunch, we just barely squeezed them into these 20 pages. So maybe 2004 will be a good year for the resistance — it's about time!

Spring in Berkeley makes us think of new projects and new possibilities. We don't have to put up with the way things are — a world based on violence, consumerism, fear and power — we can build a new world based on cooperation, simplicity, sustainability and love.

We are constantly reminded of how fragile our lives, our health and our minds are. We all need to take time to care for ourselves even while we redouble our struggle against the system. And we need to live in the present. Living our lives must combine resistance, expression and joy each day.

As the issue comes out, tens of thousands of Southern California grocery workers are still on strike. We express solidarity with them in their struggle to maintain decent benefits and pay.

Thanks to everyone who ordered a 2004 *Slingshot* Organizer, which helps pay for this paper and everything else we do. We got so many decorated letters and insane gifts with the orders: earrings, shirts, buttons, stickers, even a feather decorated mock missile. All the creativity really made the huge volunteer effort of shipping 15,000 books fun. We're using some of the proceeds to help support Prisoner Literature and Books to Prisoners projects around the country by offering matching grants. If you work on such a project, contact us for details. Also, if you work with any activist group in the Bay Area that is looking for a way to raise funds, we will match dollar for dollar up to \$50 money you raise at a

SLINGSHOT expansion update

As the *Slingshot* collective celebrates 16 years since publication of the first *Slingshot* zine, we've been discussing where the project should go now. We would like to expand our focus from just publishing this zine and the Organizer to include new publishing projects — posters, pamphlets, stickers and maybe even books. We also hope to improve our website so it can offer updates, articles, columns and additional information that won't fit into the paper.

As part of this effort, starting with this issue, we're going to try publishing more frequently — every 2 months instead of quarterly. To make this experiment a success, we need to locate a lot more writers — folks who can either write something regularly or just contribute something now and then. We're excited about finding writers from all over the country and the world so we can enlarge our focus and cover stuff going on all over. If you know of anyone who might be interested, point them our way! A list of publication dates and deadlines is below.

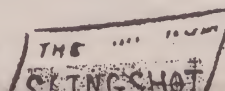
We would also like to find folks in the Bay Area who can spare one day per issue to help with our increasingly massive mailing (over 6,000 copies.) Of course we're always looking for folks to join the collective and participate in everything our project does on a day-to-day basis — editing, layout, design, art. Come to a new volunteer meeting to plug in.

ISSUE #81

New volunteer meeting: February 22
Deadline: March 27
Back from printer: April 8

ISSUE #82

New volunteer meeting: May 2
Deadline: May 29
Back from printer: June 10



LETTERS

Color us sorry

Hello, I just wanted to write because I am a fan of your organizer and really appreciate the effort that you put into it each year. I went to your website to buy one, but have decided not to because I am very disturbed at your name for the dark blue color, "Bruised Thighs." As a rape survivor, it brings to mind the memory of that experience and horrifies me that you would name the color without regard for the actions that cause people (particularly women) to have bruised thighs. I really hope that you understand my perspective. I'm not trying to over-react to something that seems so small and meaningless. I'm only trying to point out something that I am not sure has passed your mind yet. Thanks for your continued hard work. Sassy Lee

Slingshot Note: we changed the name on the website as soon as we got this letter.

Database disaster!

Ouch! On December 5, our ten year old subscriber database died a sudden and violent death. We lost records for about 1,500 subscribers, including ALL of our free prisoner subscriptions. We had a one year old back-up, and we still have hard copies of some

What flavor is a Slingshot life saver?

Hey Slingshot Folks, I just started reading the zine and I think it's great! I also purchased an organizer, which is a lifesaver. What a great idea. Anyways, myself and my friend Linda started setting up shows in Durango, really out of self-interest and it has unexpectedly snowballed into what is now more or less a scene. Pretty insane that a small town like Durango would generate a punk/hardcore scene. Well we kind of see the next step in this little phenomenon as trying to move the scene from simply an alternative culture, a culture that for the most part is just a smaller culture within the dominant capitalist one, into a counterculture — one that challenges the status-quo. We've started passing out literature and food (from the newly formed Food Not Bombs chapter) and *Slingshot* should definitely be part of that. So, in too many words what I'm getting at is could you send a bulk order to us at the lichen house? Beyond shows, we also bring literature to Food Not Bombs gatherings, special events and drop them around town. Thanks! clayton

Slingshot Note: there are now over 250 folks getting free packages of Slingshot for distribution in their towns. Let us know if you would like to get added to the list.

need to take time to care for ourselves even while we redouble our struggle against the system. And we need to live in the present. Living our lives must combine resistance, expression and joy each day.

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Slingshot is always on the lookout for writers, artists, editors, photographers, distributors and independent thinkers to help us make this paper. If you send something written, please be open to editorial discussion.

Editorial decisions are made by the *Slingshot* collective, but not all the articles reflect the opinions of the collective members. We welcome debate, constructive criticism and discussion.

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting

Volunteers interested in getting involved with *Slingshot* can come to the new volunteer meeting February 22 at 1 p.m. at the Long Haul in Berkeley (see below).

Article Deadline and Next Issue Date

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Translation zine

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Tagalog

French

Spanish

Italian (only partially finished)

Classical Arabic

Hebrew

Esperanto

rape survivor, it brings to mind the memory of that experience and horrifies me that you would name the color without regard for the actions that cause people (particularly women) to have bruised thighs. I really hope that you understand my perspective. I'm not trying to over-react to something that seems so small and meaningless. I'm only trying to point out something that I am not sure has passed your mind yet. Thanks for your continued hard work. Sassy Lee

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Love, slingshot

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Infoshop update

Here's another update of radical spaces and infoshops. Let us know if you know of any new spaces or places that have closed.

Rochester, New York InfoShop

The Rochester InfoShop is a cross tendency radical anti-capitalist library that hosts everything from anarchy, anarchist-communism, anarcho-syndicalism, primitivism, green anarchy, deep ecology, platformism, situationism, council communism, autonomist marxism, internationalism, international struggles, globalization, existentialism, and periodicals. They're seeking donations of good periodicals, so send 'em some. 222 Driving Park Ave. Rochester, NY 14613

Mount Vernon is a very centrally located area in the northern part of Baltimore. They will open up as a Cafe - Bookstore selling Fair Trade coffee and pastries. Watch this space for details.



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Circulation Information

Slingshot is free in the Bay Area and is available at Long Haul and Bound Together Books (SF), plus lots of other places. Contact us or come by if you want to distribute *Slingshot* for free in the Bay Area.

Subscriptions to *Slingshot* are \$1 (until the state is toppled) per issue (bulk mail pre-paid) or \$2 for First Class Mail after the issue comes out. International is \$2.50 per issue. Back issues are also available. **Amazing national free distribution program:** Outside of the Bay Area, we'll mail a stack of free copies of *Slingshot* to distributors, infoshops, bookstores and random friendly individuals for FREE in the US if they give 'em out for free.

If you purchased a 2004 *Slingshot* organizer from us, you've been sent this copy for free. **Special Offer:** If you bought a 2004 Organizer (It doesn't matter if you bought it direct from us or not) send us \$1 for a 1 year subscription.



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Olympia, Washington Zine Library

Located in Last Word Books, an independent, student run collective bookstore, you can visit the zine library 10 a.m. - 8 p.m. 119 5th Avenue SE, Olympia, WA 98501 360-357-5255

Craiova, Romania Infohosp

Anarchists in Craiova have opened a library & Infohosp featuring meetings, workshops and video showings. "The place is situated in the center of the town so it is gonna be very practical and we hope that the impact of our activities there will be very big." They're seeking zines, books, videos, etc. Popescu Adi, Aleea Teatrului, BL.T2 Apt. 21, Craiova, DOLJ, COD 1100, Romania

Black Planet Books closing; will relocate and reopen with new name

Black Planet Books in Baltimore, Maryland has closed. They plan to reopen with a new name in April at a new space at the corner of St. Paul & Madison St. in the Mount Vernon district.

Mount Vernon is a very centrally located area in the northern part of Baltimore. They will open up as a Cafe - Bookstore selling Fair Trade coffee and pastries. Watch this space for details.



Barricade Infohosp, Australia

The 2004 Organizer contained the wrong address. The correct address is PO Box 199, East Brunswick VIC 3057 Australia. The current Shop address is: Upstairs @ Irene Community Arts Warehouse, 5 Pitt Street, Brunswick, VIC 3056

Autonomous Valley Collective

Folks are getting together an anti-authoritarian collective in the Antelope Valley (North Los Angeles County). They're putting out a benefit music CD. No public address yet, but contact them at geocities.com/AutonomousValley

Ecolibrium Environmental Shop

Located in Burlingame on the Peninsula South of San Francisco and just north of Silicon Valley, they carry zines, alternative magazines, videos, ecological products, clothing, bumper stickers, shirts...lots of cool stuff. They also show free films once or twice a month. Check them out at 1160 Capuchino Ave Burlingame, CA 94010 (650)342-6054.

new new year, tactics

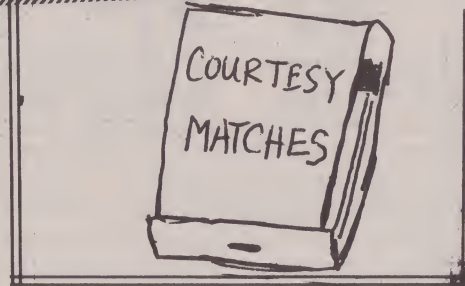
By Tomàs

"So when you want to know good white folks in history where [people of color] are concerned, go read the history of John Brown. That was what I call a white liberal — those other kind, they are questionable." Malcolm x

It is a new year and I'm a year older; I normally take this time of year to digest what has happened, to plan for the future, to consider new paths I want to explore, to weigh the importance of things I have been doing. I look for new role models, new sources of inspiration.

When I think back about this year, I remember the earnestness of the people in my life trying desperately to do something, to make something happen, to affect a semblance of change. I think of my own actions, the subtle and not so subtle forms of resistance — writing, vandalism, billboard liberation, subversive and biased materials in my classes, premeditated encounters with folks I know disagree with me, guerilla theater. These have all been fun, all had their effect. But it is a new year and I am a year older, time's a ticking and so a new year calls for new tactics, new role models.

John Brown saw 50 years of his liberal, law-abiding, business-making life do absolutely nothing to end slavery, to prevent the spread of it. For most of those years he did what normal anti-slavery proponents did: he stated his disapproval, he gave to helpful charities, he parented against it. Hell, he even moved to the



live his life. He did what most of us do — see the evil and hope it will end, fight it by avoiding it, by turning away from it, by secluding ourselves from it.

But he changed. He happened to be in the epicenter of the Kansas guerilla war between the North and the South. And yes lots of things happened to him, but within five years or so he became the John Brown of myth (and of course lotsa romanticizing). Nevertheless, he decided to go to war against his government, he decided to pick up arms, to rally troops, to fight with deeds and bullets rather than words and money. Here was a man who could have continued to live happily within the confines of "feel good northern liberalism," like so many of us do today; he could continue to benefit from his privileged position in society, like so many of us today eat, celebrate, work, recreate never once questioning these privileges; yet, he became the race traitor, the one who abandons his team when it is clearly in the lead, the one who recognizes community and connection and fears not the abandonment of riches and privileges. He gave it up and

are the traitors: straight people standing with queers in direct action and not just in celebration on Castro street, the whites who attempt to understand reparations, who attempt to see diversity as diverse and multifaceted rather than food fairs and foreign films, men who refuse to let other men tell jokes about or comment on women in any fashion, adults who step in and speak up for youth who are continually demonized by cops, teachers, childless couples, single adult hipsters, anyone who has forgotten what it means to be young. There are others. And then, there's you. And me.

I think we need to see how it is imperative to support those working for change in any way possible because it is only in the complete refusal to participate in this exploiting and dehumanizing way of life that it will change. It is, therefore, crucial that we support and encourage people to fight back with whatever weapons they want to employ. If you're a parent, get involved with other parents in the PTA, if you're a hipster, ride that bike, if you're an E.L.F. member, burn that fucking condo.

But, and here's the key, if you're in the PTA and E.L.F. actions come up, voice your solidarity with E.L.F. and the biker beside you in your minivan; if you're on your bike, smile to that lady struggling to parent with hope and love and share stories with your people about direct action as necessary for change in the

their tactics; this only ostracizes them from their support network and makes them easy pray for FBI and police repression. Look at the Black Panther Party; they spoke of guns and middle class white liberals ran screaming.

Look at what happened in Seattle when anarchists smashed Nike town windows and liberal do-gooders circled the store singing we shall overcome and pointing out the perpetrators. I for one won't burn a building down, but I'll be damned if I choose not to recognize the need to change the course we are traveling. By any means necessary.

If you don't like violence, don't do it and don't stand for the violence perpetrated in your name by cops and the government on its own citizens. When you hear about E.L.F. or other militant fighters, recognize the fight's the same, but the tactics might be different. And we need them all if we are to have the luxury of thinking about how we could choose to live if we had the choice. I don't know about you but I want that choice. And I want it now.

So this year I want more direct, confrontational actions on my part and on yours. I want you to know that when you step up, I got your back, when you pick up rocks, I'll pick up rocks; I want us to consider new ways we can become the traitor to the privileges we all have access to. I want you to think of John Brown swinging from the gallows pole and instead of feel fear, feel inspired.

"I may be hung but I will not be shot. But

has happened, to plan for the future, to consider new paths I want to explore, to weigh the importance of things I have been doing. I look for new role models, new sources of inspiration.

When I think back about this year, I remember the earnestness of the people in my life trying desperately to do something, to make something happen, to affect a semblance of change. I think of my own actions, the subtle and not so subtle forms of resistance — writing, vandalism, billboard liberation, subversive and biased materials in my classes, premeditated encounters with folks I know disagree with me, guerilla theater. These have all been fun, all had their effect. But it is a new year and I am a year older, time's a ticking and so a new year calls for new tactics, new role models.

John Brown saw 50 years of his liberal, law-abiding, business-making life do absolutely nothing to end slavery, to prevent the spread of it. For most of those years he did what normal anti-slavery proponents did: he stated his disapproval, he gave to helpful charities, he parented against it. Hell, he even moved to the free state of Kansas to leave the apathetic north that refused to pay anything but lip service to ending slavery and so he could simply

live his life. He did what most of us do — see the evil and hope it will end, fight it by avoiding it, by turning away from it, by secluding ourselves from it.

But he changed. He happened to be in the epicenter of the Kansas guerilla war between the North and the South. And yes lots of things happened to him, but within five years or so he became the John Brown of myth (and of course lotsa romanticizing). Nevertheless, he decided to go to war against his government, he decided to pick up arms, to rally troops, to fight with deeds and bullets rather than words and money. Here was a man who could have continued to live happily within the confines of "feel good northern liberalism," like so many of us do today; he could continue to benefit from his privileged position in society, like so many of us today eat, celebrate, work, recreate never once questioning these privileges; yet, he became the race traitor, the one who abandons his team when it is clearly in the lead, the one who recognizes community and connection and fears not the abandonment of riches and privileges. He gave it up and welcomed the salve and the redemption of authentic living. There are others like him that

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I think we need to see how it is imperative to support those working for change in any way possible because it is only in the complete refusal to participate in this exploiting and dehumanizing way of life that it will change. It is, therefore, crucial that we support and encourage people to fight back with whatever weapons they want to employ. If you're a parent, get involved with other parents in the PTA, if you're a hipster, ride that bike, if you're an E.L.F. member, burn that fucking condo.

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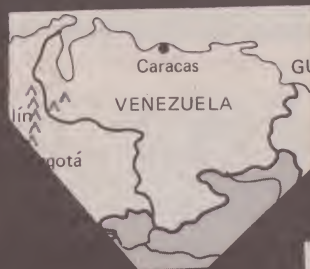
We can't make the mistake of abandoning militant fighters because we don't agree with

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"I may be hung but I will not be shot. But what I will do is this: I will raise a storm in the country that will not be stayed so long as there is a slave on its soil." John Brown



by xarick nerdcore

the rAdicAl FOMent underneath VENEZUELA's (somewhat) radical leader, the glOriFied huGo chAveZ

"We don't want a government, we want to govern!" says Carlos Ortega, co-founder of Radio Perola, a community station at the center of local activism in the Caracas barrio of Caricuao. "We want to decide what is done, when it's done and how it's done in our communities."

People in Venezuela are in a remarkable position. With the encouragement of the leftist government, approximately one million people there are organizing themselves in a huge popular movement with strong anti-authoritarian strains. The democratically-

change? More than optimism, I wanted an analysis of Chavez as a tool against US imperialism.

Beyond Bolivarian Circles

Chavez institutes political empowerment

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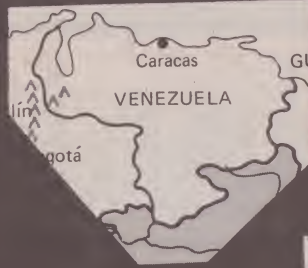
chart family histories as a part of a government plan to give land titles to families who have squatted in slums for decades.

On their own initiative, people organize "citizen assemblies" to discuss everything

from neighborhood dynamics to national politics, and create local planning councils where city authorities are forced to share decision-making power with community

presidency almost 10 years later.

The Venezuelan Constitution is a major force behind public mobilization. While Chavez is charismatic, it is the Constitution, based strongly on ideas of social equality, that people latch onto, read and discuss in the streets. At first I was impressed that Chavez had rewritten the Constitution. As it turns out, new governments in many South American countries often bring in a new constitution to lend legitimacy to their regime. But rarely does a Constitution, the cornerstone of a state, provide inspiration for people to organize



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People in Venezuela are in a remarkable position. With the encouragement of the leftist government, approximately one million people there are organizing themselves in a huge popular movement with strong anti-authoritarian strains. The democratically-elected president, Hugo Chavez, is the public face and voice of this monstrous movement--but it does not depend on him.

After seeing a salutary documentary on his successful recovery from the right-wing coup attempted against him in April 2002, it was impossible for me to not feel optimistic. I saw thousands of people take to the streets and force the opposition to return Chavez from a deserted island to the presidential palace.

But what was the real revolutionary potential of the grassroots social change sponsored by Chavez's Bolivarian Movement? How did Chavez's position as president affect his ability and motivation to make revolutionary

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and social change through Bolivarian Circles, government-funded neighborhood organizations named after Simon Bolivar, a revolutionary fighter against Spanish colonialism in the early 1800s. The Bolivarian movement is essentially an action-oriented political party, and the official Bolivarian Circles include elements of political action committees in the US. But neighborhood organizing goes beyond government-sanctioned activities.

"Many barrio residents are taking action with little heed for official directives or government sanctions," Reed Lindsay, a US reporter based in Argentina, wrote in the Manchester Guardian.

In the barrios, Bolivarian Circles fix broken water supply systems and run recycling programs. Committees take censuses and

chart family histories as a part of a government plan to give land titles to families who have squatted in slums for decades.

On their own initiative, people organize "citizen assemblies" to discuss everything

from neighborhood dynamics to national politics, and create local planning councils where city authorities are forced to share decision-making power with community representatives.

This mobilization led parents and students to take over a barrio elementary school last winter and restart classes with volunteer teachers, when the instructors walked out during the strike called by the right-wing opposition last winter.

And in the absence of Venezuelan doctors, who won't enter the poor barrios, people receive door-to-door visits from Cuban doctors brought in by Chavez. The doctors operate out of health clinics taken over in the early 1990s by people fueled by what some call the first insurgency, the 1989 Caracas barrio riots that led to Chavez winning the

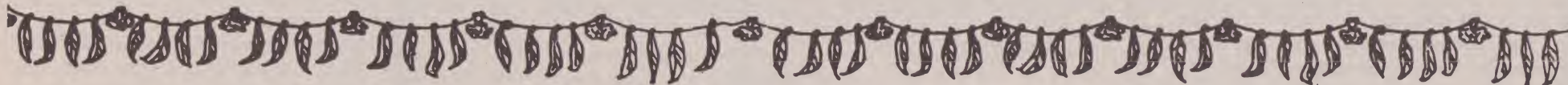
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"Paradoxically, it has been those leaders with feet of clay who have placed in the people's hands some tools to develop the politics that will get rid of them, with a clear touch of autonomy and self-management," writes the Venezuelan anarchist collective El Liberatorio.

Roland Denis, a leftist organizer and ex-minister in Chavez's government, looks beyond this apparent dilemma. "Here it has been possible to reconcile grassroots movements inspired by anarchism with a conception of a different state.... There are projects in Venezuela that demonstrate that it is possible

Continued on page 14



TEARING DOWN BETWEEN

building

understanding

By (I)An-ok Ta Chai

One of the greatest ironies out there is that while anarchists claim to value cooperation, mutual aid, sharing, individual responsibility and respecting autonomy, all too often one finds incredible in-fighting, contention, controversy, ideological sectarianism, splits, name-calling, poor group dynamics, denial of responsibility and distrust within the anarchist scene. Anarchists claim to want a sweeping global social revolution based in local grass-roots organizing, yet it is well-known that anarchism as a coherent body of thought largely stays within a narrow sub-culture of activists, theorists and punks. I believe that there is a way out of these problems, and I believe that Compassionate Communication (also known as "Nonviolent Communication," or "NVC" for short, I use all three terms interchangeably) can serve a vital role in us getting out of this mess. NVC is not a new way of policing how we speak, nor does it require two or more people practicing it in order for it to work. I've seen people use NVC to help themselves get really honest and vulnerable with other people, to help facilitate great compassion, caring and understanding among people, and I would really like to see anarchists and anti-authoritarians engage in this way of relating as well.

Compassionate Communication can be explained as series of tools, understandings

emphasizes the importance of autonomy, cooperation, individual responsibility and interdependence, and many NVC proponents express a desire for a global social change to where a critical mass of people are living their lives based on voluntary cooperation, mutual aid, real democracy, and respecting one another's autonomy.

NVC also appealed to me because I saw the cross-overs between it and my appreciation of the writings of the 19th century anarchist philosopher Max Stirner, what with NVC's exhortations to not act out of guilt, shame, fear, duty or obligation but because you clearly see how it can meet your own needs or because you see how you can enjoy contributing to the well-being of others. While cross-overs with anarchism initially piqued my interest I soon discovered that there is a lot more to NVC as well.

I see NVC in many ways picking up where anarchism leaves off. I see anarchism as

coherent set of positive principles through which to live and organize by. I see NVC, in turn, as both providing a useful guide in how to apply anarchist principles to our lives and organizing as well as how to reach out to and genuinely connect with other people who are not anarchists or radicals. This can help us to both live our values, as well as to grow and spread our movement to social revolutionary proportions.

NVC itself can be described in two ways, the NVC model and the NVC consciousness. The NVC model is but a mere guide, a useful framework, that will hopefully aid in one achieving the NVC consciousness. The NVC model is broken down into four parts: observations, feelings, needs and requests.

Observations are clear, factual things that we experience in some way. It could be something that we see, hear, touch, etc., or it could even be a specific thought or memory that goes through your head. NVC makes sure to not mix observation with any form of evaluation, judgment, or interpretation. It seeks to keep the observation as pure and factual as possible. The observation is just something that happened, not what we or others think about something that happened.

Feelings are a clear physical or emotional thing that one experiences. NVC makes sure to not mix feelings with evaluation or judgment

reasons for why we do the things that we do. Needs are universal, everyone has the same fundamental needs, and they exist independently of a certain person doing a certain thing. Needs are not just physical, psychological, or social. What NVC considers to be needs are things that are needed for a human being to have a really meaningful, enjoyable and fulfilling life, as opposed to just physically surviving. NVC makes a clear distinction between needs and strategies to meet needs. For example, "money" and "status" are considered to be just strategies to meet



"NONVIOLENT COMMUNICATION
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Compassionate Communication can be explained as series of tools, understandings and a framework that helps us focus our attention on whatever is really important and fundamental to others or ourselves in a given moment. One of the things that initially drew me to NVC was the many obvious similarities between it and anarchism. For example, NVC literature and materials repeatedly speak of eliminating relationships of domination, hierarchy and power over people. NVC

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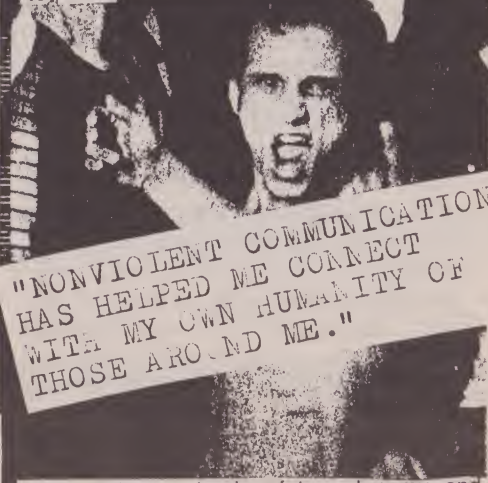
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Feelings are a clear physical or emotional thing that one experiences. NVC makes sure to not mix feelings with evaluation or judgment and only keep it in the realm of what one is directly experiencing. For example, some feelings would be "excited", "overwhelmed", "confident", or "irritated" as opposed to "cheated", "patronized", "unwanted" or "ridiculed" which are feelings mixed with evaluations or judgments.

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certain thing. Needs are not just physical, psychological, or social. What NVC considers to be needs are things that are needed for a human being to have a really meaningful, enjoyable and fulfilling life, as opposed to just physically surviving. NVC makes a clear distinction between needs and strategies to meet needs. For example, "money" and "status" are considered to be just strategies to meet



needs, whereas food, safety, autonomy, and appreciation are considered to be fundamental needs. Needs being met or not met are the cause of one's feelings, whereas the observation that one experiences is the stimulus for the feelings.

Requests are clear and doable things that we can ask to meet our needs. Requests are distinctly different from demands, things that one is asked to do and will be punished for if one does not carry them out. NVC strives to have people ask requests and carry them out not out of a hope for a reward, nor out of fear of punishment. NVC hopes to have people fulfill the requests of others purely out of a desire to contribute to the well-being of others or one's self.

So, to put these steps into the NVC model with the intention of expressing one's own state of being, one would say something like: "When I see you get high" I feel "conflicted" because I am needing "to stay away from drugs right now", would you be willing to "refrain from using in front of me?" Likewise, if one is to use the NVC model to guess at what someone else might be experiencing, one would say something like: "When you see your house mates argue" do you feel "upset" because you are needing "to feel safe", and

10 RgaSms WithOut OBliGation

Este artículo en Espanol, Pagina 13

By Molly Coddle

I understand my own completeness, I can honor the government.

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A lot of people see the NVC model as being the entirety of NVC, and as a result come to a conclusion that NVC is just some kind of stilted formula for how to speak with people. It is for this reason why I consider it to be very important to be mindful of the NVC consciousness, which is the end goal that the NVC model is supposed to aid in one achieving.

The NVC consciousness is a certain mindset, a certain way that one views and approaches both one's self and others. This includes staying aware of the four components of the NVC model in one's dealings with others and with the thought processes that pass through ones own mind as well. However, unlike the NVC model, the consciousness of NVC is by no means sequential or formulaic, it is an awareness, a focus that one keeps in mind. The NVC consciousness also keeps in mind other things as well, like that one is not the "cause" of another person's emotions—people's needs are the cause, that people are responsible for

ORgasmS WithOuT OBliGation

Este articulo en Espanol, Pagina 13

By Molly Coddle

Once upon a time I thought that polyamory was a radical act, and when I finally came out last year as a poly person, I realized that it's not always a choice. I last about a month in a monogamous situation--it's stifling for me--so I've begun to consider poly as I see other non-dominant sexual preferences, as conscious radical choices or natural urges. It's also helped me understand that monogamy works as well for some people as poly works for me.

Coming out has been a bit painful--telling friends one at a time, finding a supportive community that understands--but rewarding. I'm developing my own ethic for intimacy, since I don't believe extending a monogamous framework to many partners is sufficient. My influences have been anarchism, Buddhism and the wisdom of my community. Principally I'm working on overcoming physical and emotional scarcity, practicing full disclosure, and seeing love as a gift exchange.

My vision of functioning polyamory is to become my own primary partner. As I discard the residual morality of monogamy, having a primary relationship seems less necessary. As

I understand my own completeness, I can honor intimacy without prioritizing, and practice honesty with partners instead of getting permission to be poly from them.

The need for fidelity is changing as I depend less on others' approval for my self worth. Just as I would be delighted over my best friend finding a new lover, I find delight in my lovers' new joys. Cheating, per se, is not about sex, but about emotional dishonesty and breaking commitments. If a lover of mine had unsafe sex, broke a date to fuck someone else, or lied about what level of intimacy they wanted, I would be hurt enough to need the issue addressed. However, everyone has different triggers, and we can only know by discussing them.

The biggest downfall of being poly for me is the amount of time it consumes. I could spend the next 50 years happily dancing, cuddling, talking, fucking and processing and never do another minute of justice work, but it would be a life less than fulfilling. Knowing that my love is not finite but my time and energy are will form the most concrete boundaries of my relationships. If only orgasms could overthrow

the government.

I firmly believe in non-obligatory relationships. Love is a gift exchange and in order for intimacy to be healthy, I must give and receive. While I can't know what joy is coming, I expect it, as well as some pain. Growth often comes from such discomfort.



"My vision of functioning polyamory is to become my own primary partner."

As I stray farther from monogamy into my own definitions of intimacy, I find more gratification. I know that I'll be grateful for lovers and at other times retreat to my own self-satisfaction. Either way, I'll know that I'm loved.

thnx to socket

THE WALLS US

through communication

their own actions and choices that they make, that it makes more sense to connect with the needs behind what people do rather than punishing or rewarding them, that we are all human beings rather than labels, roles or enemy images, that in the long run it meets our needs in a more authentic and sustainable way to find solutions that meet the needs of all involved rather than just meeting our needs at the expense of others.

Miki Kashtan, coordinator of the NVC Social Change Project, elaborates on this last point: "When we use force, blame and self-righteousness instead, even if we manage to create the outcome we want in the short run, we distance ourselves from those whose actions we want to change. Success in the short run does not lead to the transformation we so wish for, neither in ourselves nor in those we are trying to change. Sooner or later, those with more power will prevail, and we are left bitter and defeated. This cycle is a major cause of 'burn-out' among activists."

This brings me back to the application of NVC to anarchism and activism. I see a lot of in-fighting, controversies, splits, and general contention within the anarchist/activist scene, and I think that a lot of this stems from how we view and relate to one another and ourselves.

are doing. It does not help to jump into a situation with an immediate goal in mind that one wants to see come about, I find it far more useful to make sure that a clear mutual understanding is established. Only once I am certain that we are all very much aware of which feelings and needs are active for everyone involved do I go about a process of creatively strategizing to find ways to meet the needs of all those involved.

NVC has great potential to be used in community outreach and organizing. Often, anarchists and radical activists exist in a very unique and marginal sub-culture, which makes it hard for us to truly understand those we regard as "mainstream" or "non-political". NVC can be used to help us dissect what exactly is going on with those whom we do not understand, with those that we are alienated from for various cultural reasons. "Mainstream" and "non-political" people all have feelings and needs as well, and it is through the use of NVC that we can bridge the gaps between us and help us bring about clear mutual understanding while simultaneously allowing them to understand us.

I would like to invite you to learn more about Nonviolent Communication. I suggest that you check out these books/pamphlets:

"Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Life" by Marshall Rosenberg, a pretty thorough introduction to NVC

"Don't Be Nice, Be Real" by Kelly Bryson, an introduction to NVC with some broader social analysis thrown in as well.

"The Heart of Social Change" by Marshall Rosenberg, a pamphlet on applying NVC to social change activism.

"Punished By Rewards" by Alfie Kohn, an explanation how motivation and systems based on rewards and punishment does not help us in the long run.

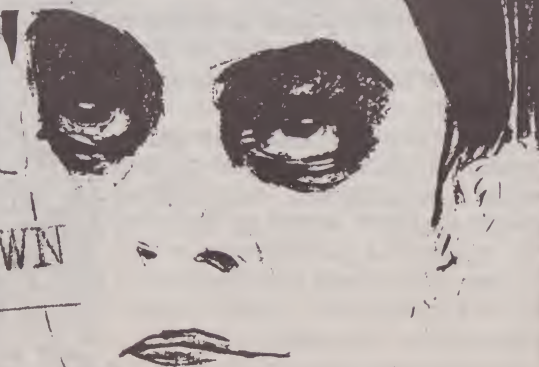
Or you can check out these NVC web-sites:
<http://www.nonviolentcommunication.com>
<http://www.cnvc.org>
www.baynvc.org for NVC events that take place in the Bay Area.

I would also like to invite you to join me and NVC trainer, Miki Kashtan, for a free introduction to NVC at the Long Haul infoshop Sunday March 7th, 7-9PM.

A SCENE CRITIQUE

- PUT THIS

PAPER DOWN



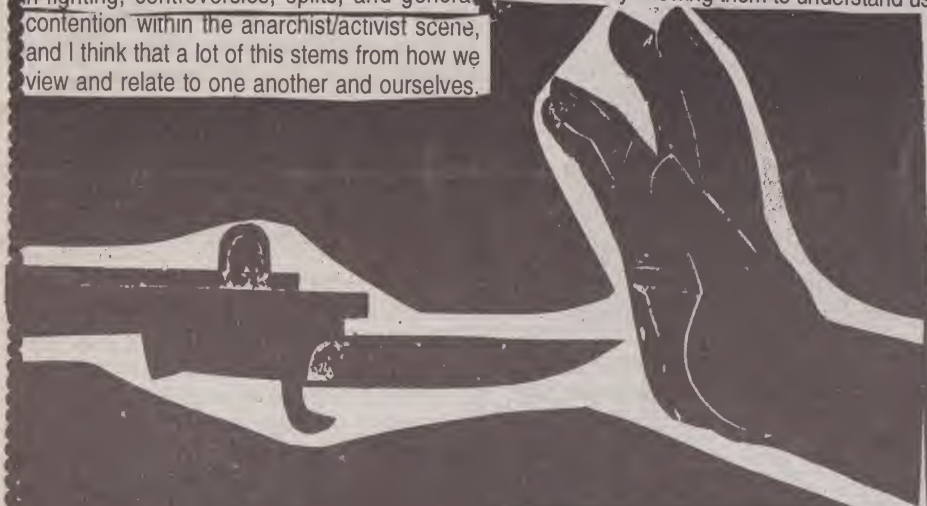
their own actions and choices that they make, that it makes more sense to connect with the needs behind what people do rather than punishing or rewarding them, that we are all human beings rather than labels, roles or enemy images, that in the long run it meets our needs in a more authentic and sustainable way to find solutions that meet the needs of all involved rather than just meeting our needs at the expense of others.

Miki Kashtan, coordinator of the NVC Social Change Project, elaborates on this last point: "When we use force, blame and self-righteousness instead, even if we manage to create the outcome we want in the short run, we distance ourselves from those whose actions we want to change. Success in the short run does not lead to the transformation we so wish for, neither in ourselves nor in those we are trying to change. Sooner or later, those with more power will prevail, and we are left bitter and defeated. This cycle is a major cause of 'burn-out' among activists."

This brings me back to the application of NVC to anarchism and activism. I see a lot of in-fighting, controversies, splits, and general contention within the anarchist/activist scene, and I think that a lot of this stems from how we view and relate to one another and ourselves.

are doing. It does not help to jump into a situation with an immediate goal in mind that one wants to see come about, I find it far more useful to make sure that a clear mutual understanding is established. Only once I am certain that we are all very much aware of which feelings and needs are active for everyone involved do I go about a process of creatively strategizing to find ways to meet the needs of all those involved.

NVC has great potential to be used in community outreach and organizing. Often, anarchists and radical activists exist in a very unique and marginal sub-culture, which makes it hard for us to truly understand those we regard as "mainstream" or "non-political". NVC can be used to help us dissect what exactly is going on with those whom we do not understand, with those that we are alienated from for various cultural reasons. "Mainstream" and "non-political" people all have feelings and needs as well, and it is through the use of NVC that we can bridge the gaps between us and help us bring about clear mutual understanding while simultaneously allowing them to understand us.



For example, when we call people "selfish", "reactionary", "authoritarian", "sexist", "lazy", "close-minded", or "bourgeois", we are not referring to a clear observation that we are reacting to, nor are we referring to what we are personally feeling, needing or what actions we would like to see. Labels such as these serve to project enemy images on those we are referring to. It is the automatic

When I first started seriously looking into Compassionate Communication, it took me a while to really get it and apply it to myself. For me, it was just such a different paradigm than what I was used to. I was used to labeling, judging and evaluating myself and other people. I was very stuck in my own head, part of which was because of the anarchist arguing culture that I came from. Soon I started understanding it more and more until one night

A SCENE CRITIQUE

- PUT THIS

PAPER DOWN

AND ORGANIZE-

By PB Floyd

The sad state of the world over the past few years — the increased concentration of power — spiraling environmental destruction — the Iraq war and occupation — Bush's naked attempts to create fear — stepped up attacks on privacy — is creating a deeper level of popular opposition to the structures of power than has been seen for quite some time. Increasingly, huge numbers of folks who used to think of themselves as "mainstream" are having to face the fact that the systems of power they believed were justified, reasonable and legitimate are instead threats to freedom, peace, stability and life itself. There are opportunities for something positive to come out of a very scary situation.

The question is, how can folks in the activist community promote this transformation? And

I would also like to invite you to join me and NVC trainer, Miki Kashtan, for a free introduction to NVC at the Long Haul infoshop Sunday March 7th, 7-9PM.

What I mean is that activists can encourage dialog and discussion — questioning authority. We should also realize that the system maintains power by keeping people isolated from each other and breaking down common spaces and moments when people can interact outside of realms organized by the market. We ought to be about creating these types of free spaces — and not just for ourselves and our friends, but for people who are isolated from discussion about political issues and isolated from political action.

At a time like this, we need to stop spending so much of our activist time organizing endless conferences or events primarily meant for people already involved in "the scene" — anarchist picnics, anarchist soccer teams, etc. Even a lot of actions seem mostly directed at folks who are already involved — basically, we organize an action by trying to "organize"



For example, when we call people "selfish", "reactionary", "authoritarian", "sexist", "lazy", "close-minded", or "bourgeois", we are not referring to a clear observation that we are reacting to, nor are we referring to what we are personally feeling, needing or what actions we would like to see. Labels such as these serve to project enemy images on those we are referring to, it is the automatic drawing up of "sides" with the implication being that the side that is labeled such is the "bad" side that deserves to be punished somehow.

I would like to see instead of this, an empathic interplay. When someone says or does something that you are triggered by, first you can check in with yourself, see what you are reacting to, see what you are feeling and needing, and what specific action you would like to see the other person do. Then you can express this to the other person, and if they respond by saying something that triggers you, you can repeat this process with this new stimulus. Another option is to empathize with the other person who is doing something that you do not enjoy. What is this other person feeling and what are their underlying needs behind what they are doing? You can guess at this and ask the other person for clarification on whether this is true. This can in turn be another kind of dialogue that you can have to help resolve this situation.

I tend to find it the most useful to engage in a mix of these two processes, both checking in with myself to see what is going on within myself as well as empathizing with the other person to try to discover what is going on within them and why they are doing what they

When I first started seriously looking into Compassionate Communication, it took me a while to really get it and apply it to myself. For me, it was just such a different paradigm than what I was used to. I was used to labeling, judging and evaluating myself and other people. I was very stuck in my own head, part of which was because of the anarchist arguing culture that I came from. Soon I started understanding it more and more, until one night I had an epiphany that a lot of the conflicts, problems and unhappiness within the anarchist scene that I had experienced, I had actively contributed to myself. I realized that failed projects and friendships in my life could have developed differently if I knew and practiced NVC back then.

NVC has helped me connect with my own humanity and the humanity of those around me. I was able to stop viewing other anarchists as "reactionary", "authoritarian", "incompetent" or any other negating label, and instead was able to see them as actual human beings, striving to meet various needs of theirs in the best way they know how. The same goes for apolitical people. I stopped seeing them as "clueless", "consumerist" and "short-sighted" and was able to see them as the fragile, scared and fallible human beings that they are, trying to get by in this world. Sure, all too often I lose the NVC consciousness and go off on labeling and judging myself or others, but at least now I know that a deeper understanding and way of authentically relating to other people without domination and hierarchy is indeed possible right now.



By PB Floyd

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The question is, how can folks in the activist community promote this transformation? And assuming more people are willing to take action against the system, what actions can we take?

I haven't heard very good answers to either of these questions and I wish the activist community would think about them carefully and seriously. In such dangerous times, the activist scene appears to be going about business as usual, which means that it is celebrating its own marginalization and impotency, rather than trying to figure out how to attack the system.

If we're going to help people decide to reject the system, we have to be willing to talk to people who aren't already involved in the activist scene. This means people of different ages, races, backgrounds. On the most basic level, it means that we shouldn't write-off so many folks because we *think* that they are too mainstream to ever oppose the system. We have to give people some credit that they're not stupid. We need to stop rejecting people who aren't young and pierced.

It's true that ultimately, people must transform their own consciousness and political understanding, but there is a role for political outreach. Outreach doesn't mean that we should all become preachers of a radical faith — we need to realize that thinking or behaving as if we have the "truth" just sets up a new hierarchy.

What I mean is that activists can encourage dialog and discussion — questioning authority. We should also realize that the system maintains power by keeping people isolated from each other and breaking down common spaces and moments when people can interact outside of realms organized by the market. We ought to be about creating these types of free spaces — and not just for ourselves and our friends, but for people who are isolated from discussion about political issues and isolated from political action.

At a time like this, we need to stop spending so much of our activist time organizing endless conferences or events primarily meant for people already involved in "the scene" — anarchist picnics, anarchist soccer teams, etc. Even a lot of actions seem mostly directed at folks who are already involved — basically, we organize an action by trying to "organize" those who are already organized and in the activist community, rather than by organizing society. The idea of organizing means organizing society, not just organizing the could-be organizers.

The forces of power spend huge amounts of energy on media propaganda and public manipulation. We need to figure out a grassroots response, and more than that, a way to go beyond responding and communicate a positive alternative agenda.

Day to day life in advanced capitalism can be grim — living alone, working a meaningless job that takes up most of your time and energy. There is a hunger for community and finding some kind of meaning or hope for a better future. If our process and actions empower people, provide meaning, and are based on community and connection, they will be powerful because they will fill the gap that the current top-down society creates.

I hope the activist community will make a New Year's Resolution to start taking itself more seriously. Far too often, we get distracted by single issue campaigns because we assume that our efforts are incapable of addressing the biggest, systemic issues. This is a self-fulfilling prophecy — we make our own resistance irrelevant when we assume it can't succeed.

the next meeting of SDS

by Alan Haber

Those who lived or studied the 1960's will remember SDS- Students For a Democratic Society as a radical multi- issue center of the new left active for civil rights, economic justice, education reform, opposing the Vietnam war and trying broadly to change the country and the world.

A notice was circulated a few months ago announcing "the next meeting of SDS." The old SDS hadn't met, of course, for 30 plus years. SDS, after the 60's, spread out into a hundred different movements: feminist, environmentalist, human growth, identity, freedom and liberation and solidarity, and underground. Some have nostalgic memories of the good old days (which weren't that great). Activist students and youth study the old SDS. Some wondered why there wasn't an SDS now, now that we needed it.

The call to "a meeting" gave an opportunity to explore: should there be another one? Either another meeting or another attempt at organization?

"The next meeting of SDS" was held on November 29, 2003. The notice / invitation proposed a too-full agenda. Though opinions were wide ranging on what to do, or what are social forces now in motion, a spirited discussion continued until 9:30. One impatient long time fighter left early, saying "we were a depressing lot and we should move on."

The depressing discussion focused on a number of topics:

the image in people's minds of what is true. *University service workers just sold out their union gains for a mere \$500, facilitating privatizing, piece working, and outsourcing future jobs, falling for the union busting two-tier strategy of the corporations. *There is no consciousness out there, people sell out for nothing and feel no solidarity. *Bush is the best thing for the revolution, bankrupting America — 4 more years is what it might take to wake up the working class. *The poor and immigrant and alien are all among us, the "peace movement" does not see the reality at

home — the class war in our own town. *People live in a bubble of delusion, fed on consumption. *European Americans, which was all but one in the room, live at the top of a pyramid of privilege sharing in the capital exploited and stolen from the Native Americans and African Americans, in slavery and since, and now fed on the riches of the global system of exploitation. We have all imbibed white supremacy as the assumption of this culture and denial of the thievery on which our way of life is based.

On the other hand, every negative had a more positive perspective: the magnifying

power of "move-on" like networks, the growing independent media and independent sources of information, the winning of small victories locally, several of which were recounted — winning an environmental taxation vote, winning a water privatization case, raising money to rebuild Palestinian homes, and being in the streets.

The quest most returned to in the discussion was what local actions or questions could both focus energy and connect with the larger picture. The on-going "borders books and music" strike was most mentioned — don't shop Borders, Walden books or Amazon until the corporation settles with its Ann Arbor workers. Can our extended networks help make this an effective national boycott?

I began the discussion with a call to remember our networks, and proposed we undertake together to make the "a political association adequate to our needs in these times."

Such an association is social, and radiates along lines of affinity, love and affiliations of heart. One person proposed and read a text for a new membership card. International SDS was proposed. Many readings of "s" were offered -- seniors, survivors, et al. -- and coming back to students, our needs, at whatever age or occupation, to study, to be students of life and to learn, what else are we here for?

Those interested in the next next meeting



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*Votes are fixed, votes are uncoun-
ted, new machines can be hacked. *Votes are irrelevant,
who is there to vote for? *The power of the
monopolized media is overwhelming, shaping

America — 4 more years is what it might take
to wake up the working class. *The poor and
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molly-coddle

another crazy,

anarchist wingnut

My personal rEvolution, very much a work in
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the radical. My father and stepmom had a

away. We provided everything but abortion
services (clinic was 40 minutes away) and it
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me a while to see the racism and classism that
taints a lot of feminism, I got to teach classes
on the porn industry to frat boys, edit a queer

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Those interested in the next next meeting
of SDS, call 734-761-7967, write post office
box 7213 Ann Arbor, MI 48107, or e-mail
megiddo@umich.edu

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farmers, herders and artisans are forced to
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When I returned to the US, post 9/11, it
was hard to reincorporate. I've never been into
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enticing, I felt the urge to be in a community
where being different, freakish, ME, was ok.

It took me awhile to distinguish between
punk and anarchism. There is such an overlap in
the Northeast, that I felt isolated because I
liked bluegrass and didn't know "Against Me."
My longstanding association with punk was a-
political, skinny, sex-deprived boys who went
to shows and jumped around. That's never
been my scene. I have since met lots of cool
punks, anarchists and anarcho-punks, but I felt
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Moving to East Oakland has made me
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My personal rEvolution, very much a work in progress, has been a slow creep leftward into the radical. My father and stepmom had a bourgie requirement that when my sisters and I became teenagers, we took on some kind of community service. We were privileged--white, middle class, Catholic kids in New England--and my folx's response was noblesse oblige. They had know idea how far I would take it.

My first "gig", you might say, was volunteering for a risk-reduction non-profit to keep kids off drugs. I had friends who were smoking marijuana or doing meth at 13 to ease family or personal trauma, and my response was less than compassionate. I knew they needed support, but didn't understand how to give it to them without judging. Self-medication was a foreign idea.

By a stroke of luck, I met an amazing sex educator who invited me to work at her reproductive health clinic for teenagers. I worked there for all of high school, and did sex ed for clients who came from as far 3 hours

away. We provided everything but abortion services (clinic was 40 minutes away) and it probably saved my life to have education and health care. Besides knowing my body and safer sex techniques, I learned empathy and love. When a sexually assaulted 12 year old asks you how to get an abortion, you either



hate the world or decide to be empathetic more often. I learned that shame only keeps us from being real with one another. I wish anarchists hugged each other more.

During college (I love math and wanted formal training), I taught with my school's rape crisis center for four years. Although it took

me a while to see the racism and classism that taints a lot of feminism, I got to teach classes on the porn industry to frat boys, edit a queer column for the student newspaper, model consensual communication with high school kids, explore alternative (non-prosecutorial) justice with survivors and coordinate workshops on sex trafficking. By speaking publicly on so many issues, I processed my own identities as a survivor, queer-female, polyamorist, and slut. Of course, I'm always renegotiating and growing.

I finally understood the effects of capitalism and awakend to my own outrage when I left the States. During my semester in Hungary, I saw people terrified of the instability of the market economy and terrified of old and new state repression. Trade, privilege, community and exploitation were thrown in my face. The communities and land that people depended on were disappearing with an influx of foreign capital and youth emigration was leaving the region without a

future. Transylvania is being destroyed as farmers, herders and artisans are forced to low-wage city jobs. Everywhere, it's the same shit, different corporations.

When I returned to the US, post 9/11, it was hard to reincorporate. I've never been into accumulating stuff, but the only "collective" living situations I saw were college kids in rented shit-holes or Christian communes. It took me almost a year to find people who were articulate anarchists and to realize what I was becoming. Some I found through Unitarian young adult networks and others through local justice work. As liberal politics grew less enticing, I felt the urge to be in a community where being different, freakish, ME, was ok.

It took me awhile to distinguish between punk and anarchism. There is such an overlap in the Northeast, that I felt isolated because I liked bluegrass and didn't know "Against Me." My longstanding association with punk was a-political, skinny, sex-deprived boys who went to shows and jumped around. That's never been my scene. I have since met lots of cool punks, anarchists and anarcho-punks, but I felt alienated at first.

Moving to East Oakland has made me acknowledge my racist-nativist acculturation--coming from a state that's 96% white, and hanging out in Berkeley makes me itch to grow organic vegetables. I'm figuring out how to live my ethics without condemning conservative old friends and simultaneously create a radical future for myself. Big questions still loom for me personally, and I don't pretend to have answers. How will I eat when I'm old? How do I feel about satiating my inner nerd and getting a PhD? Will I be a radical poly parent some day?

I'm grateful that, for all the shit I say about radical politics, I haven't lost my family or old friends. When I told my parents about being harassed in Miami at the FTAA protests, they were scared, but they didn't think I was crazy. For me, revolution is about clean water, allowing people autonomy in education, love and work, and riding a bike cart for Food Not Bombs deliveries. If that makes me crazy, I don't need any medication.

KHALAS (enough!) IN PALESTINE

By Bill Templar

The regime that will succeed the nation-state will not be the fruit of preconception or social engineering, but of sociological and political imagination wielded through transformative actions. (1)Gustavo Esteva

The chilling observations by Israeli historian Benny Morris in an interview recently published in the Israeli daily Ha'aretz (2) shed intriguing light on the real face of the Zionist rationale of 'ethnic cleansing' of the Palestinians in 1948 under David Ben Gurion and its perpetuation today. His remarks also point out the utter hopelessness of the imaginary nation-state in resolving the conflict in historic Palestine.

But the bleak assessment of the future of 'statism' in Palestine, Morris suggests, can also be read against its own grain. Inverting his grim evaluation of Zionist history and the present impasse, anti-authoritarians must address the problem of reinventing politics in Israel/Palestine now — laying the groundwork for a kind of Jewish-Palestinian Zapatismo, a grassroots movement to "reclaim the commons." Moving beyond the necessary preoccupation with the brutal Occupation, and resistance against it, will entail strategies of building direct democracy, participatory economy and genuine autonomy for the people, a new symbiosis of ta'ayush (togetherness). In that mix of anti-Power, Martin Buber's vision of the "rebirth of the commune" could also be re-energized: "an organic commonwealth — that is a community of communities" (3). Advancing toward a 'no-state solution.'

'Systemic Bifurcation'?

Israel and Palestine may be entering what Wallerstein calls a conjuncture of "systemic bifurcation," a "transformational TimeSpace," when fundamental values and narratives are questioned and the "face of an alternative, credibly better, and historically possible (but far from certain) future" becomes visible. For Wallerstein, the end to the "process of

Alas, an 'Incomplete' Transfer

Morris praises Ben Gurion's policy of population 'transfer': "Of course. Ben Gurion was a transferist. He understood that there could be no Jewish state with a large and hostile Arab minority in its midst. —Ben Gurion was right. If he had not done what he did, a state would not have come into being. That has to be clear. It is impossible to evade it. Without the uprooting of the Palestinians, a Jewish state would not have arisen here."

But Morris ups the ante. Startling many Israelis, he accuses Ben Gurion of a colossal 'mistake': "Even though he understood the demographic issue and the need to establish a Jewish state without a large Arab minority, he got cold feet during the war. In the end, he faltered. —But my feeling is that this place would be quieter and know less suffering if the matter had been resolved once and for all. If Ben Gurion had carried out a large expulsion and cleansed the whole country — the whole Land of Israel, as far as the Jordan River. —It may yet turn out that this was his fatal mistake. If he had carried out a full expulsion — rather than a partial one — he would have stabilized the State of Israel for generations."

Destroy or be Destroyed

Asked if he thinks 'ethnic cleansing' is justified, he replies: "A Jewish state would not have come into being without the uprooting of

emissary of the enemy that is among us. They are a potential fifth column. In both demographic and security terms, they are liable to undermine the state. So that if Israel again finds itself in a situation of existential threat, as in 1948, it may be forced to act as it did then. — If the threat to Israel is existential, expulsion will be justified."

Dead End

Does Morris see any solution? Wedded to the notion that there must be two nation-states, he is totally pessimistic: "in practice, in this generation, a settlement of that kind will not hold water. At least 30 to 40 percent of the Palestinian public and at least 30 to 40 percent of the heart of every Palestinian will not accept it. —There will not be a solution. We are doomed to live by the sword. —Even if Israel is not destroyed, we won't see a good, normal life here in the decades ahead. —The whole Zionist project is apocalyptic. It exists within hostile surroundings and in a certain sense its existence is unreasonable. It wasn't reasonable for it to succeed in 1881 and it wasn't reasonable for it to succeed in 1948 and it's not reasonable that it will succeed now." He does not even consider the one-state, bi-national solution, an option now being rekindled in desperation by many commentators, both Israeli and Palestinian.

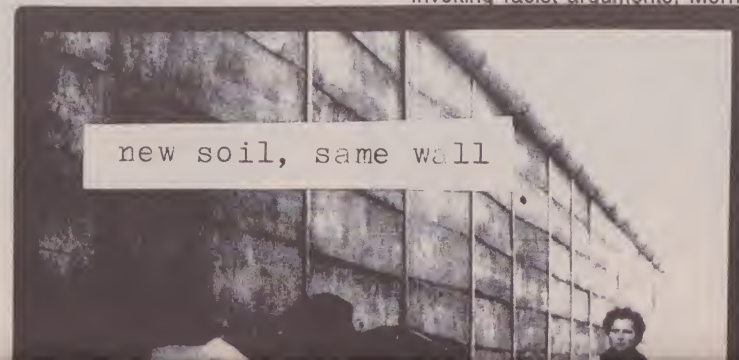
Barbarians at the Gate

Invoking racist arguments, Morris goes so

synergism (9). In the spirit of an Arab-Jewish harambee!, we must press ahead to a more egalitarian society of mutual aid (10) and advance a call for "non-hierarchy, confederated direct democracies, communal economics, social freedom, and an ecological sensibility"(11).

How that movement can be built at this historic impasse, itself perhaps a 'transformational TimeSpace,' is a topic anti-authoritarians need to be addressing (12). In the transition from the disintegrating capitalist world-system that Wallerstein foresees, there will be a period of conflicts and aggravated disorders, and what many will see as the collapse of moral systems. Not paradoxically, it will also be a period in which the "free will" factor will be at its maximum, meaning that individual and collective action can have a greater impact on the future structuring of the world than such action can have in more "normal" times, that is, during the ongoing life of an historical system (13).

Beginnings in Israel/Palestine can be small. Nodes for an anti-authoritarian sub-politics are necessary. There is one; the social-anarchist space now opened on the Israeli left by the libertarian affinity group One Struggle (Ma'avak Ehad) needs to be broadened, and extended into Palestinian society. Popularizing its anti-authoritarian values into a grassroots movement to prioritize equity, diversity, solidarity, and self-management within and across the communities in this internecine struggle (14). The focus on animal rights inside One Struggle (human and animal liberation) is a distinctive component many libertarian socialists would not espouse so centrally. But their overall analysis is congruent with core anti-authoritarian positions, and they are in daily motion and direct action against militarism, Zionism, the IDF and the Occupation. And, they are the principal group in Israel behind Anarchists Against the Wall.



new soil, same wall

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‘Systemic Bifurcation’?

Israel and Palestine may be entering what Wallerstein calls a conjuncture of “systemic bifurcation,” a “transformational TimeSpace,” when fundamental values and narratives are questioned and the “face of an alternative, credibly better, and historically possible (but far from certain) future” becomes visible. For Wallerstein, the end to the “process of endless accumulation of capital that governs our existing world” is leading to a “structurally chaotic situation —thoroughly unpredictable in its trajectory” on a global scale (4). In his diagnosis, this system is swelling into terminal crisis, unsustainable socially and environmentally, the most non-egalitarian order in world history.

In Palestine, the cumulative effect of the continued Occupation and its monstrosities, the Al-Aqsa Intifada, and the implosion of internationally engineered ‘peace processes,’ has been system-shattering, at multiple fractal scales. Bifurcation there finds its literal icon in the Great Wall of Palestine being gouged into the land against the will of all Palestinians and many Israelis. Opposition to that Apartheid Wall, including direct action by new groups such as Anarchists Against the Wall in Israel and the grassroots Palestinian resistance initiative Stop the Wall, signals a new qualitative change in the deepening struggle. The views elaborated by Morris, who has been pushed to the nationalist right by the dynamic of bifurcation and violence, should be interpreted in that light. They are worth reviewing at some length to sense the desperation and reactionary dearth of vision of a key commentator at the present ‘fateful’ juncture.

Masks Removed

Ben Gurion had been reserved once and for all. The whole Zionist project is apocalyptic. It exists within hostile surroundings and in a certain sense its existence is unreasonable. It wasn’t reasonable for it to succeed in 1881 and it wasn’t reasonable for it to succeed in 1948 and it’s not reasonable that it will succeed now.” He does not even consider the one-state, bi-national solution, an option now being rekindled in desperation by many commentators, both Israeli and Palestinian.

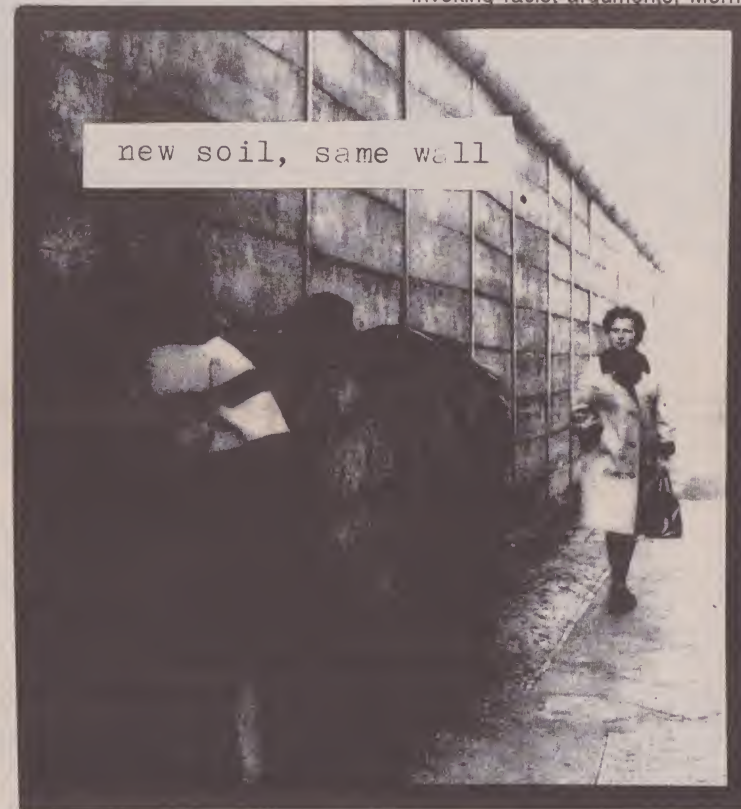
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Barbarians at the Gate

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700,000 Palestinians. Therefore it was necessary to uproot them. There was no choice but to expel that population. It was necessary to cleanse the hinterland and cleanse the border areas and cleanse the main roads. It was necessary to cleanse the villages from which our convoys and our settlements were fired on.” And he does not think that the expulsions of 1948 were war crimes: “when the choice is between destroying or being destroyed, it’s better to destroy. There are circumstances in history that justify ethnic cleansing.”

Cages and Iron Walls

In commenting on the Great Wall of

far as to reiterate the ‘clash of civilizations’ thesis, with Israel at its very forward outpost: “The Arab world as it is today is barbarian. —I think that the war between the civilizations is the main characteristic of the 21st century. —This is a struggle against a whole world that espouses different values. And we are on the front line. Exactly like the Crusaders, we are the vulnerable branch of Europe in this place.”

Shavit then concludes: “Which leaves us, nevertheless, with two possibilities: either a cruel, tragic Zionism, or the foregoing of Zionism.” And Morris concurs: “Yes. That’s so. You have pared it down, but that’s correct.”

structure of the world than such action can have in more “normal” times, that is, during the ongoing life of an historical system (13).

Beginnings in Israel/Palestine can be small. Nodes for an anti-authoritarian sub-politics are necessary. There is one; the social-anarchist space now opened on the Israeli left by the libertarian affinity group One Struggle (Ma’avak Ehad) needs to be broadened, and extended into Palestinian society. Popularizing its anti-authoritarian values into a grassroots movement to prioritize equity, diversity, solidarity, and self-management within and across the communities in this internecine struggle (14). The focus on animal rights inside One Struggle (human and animal liberation) is a distinctive component many libertarian socialists would not espouse so centrally. But their overall analysis is congruent with core anti-authoritarian positions, and they are in daily motion and direct action against militarism, Zionism, the IDF and the Occupation. And, they are the principal group in Israel behind Anarchists Against the Wall.

A hundred flowers can bloom, a hundred schools of thought contend in this pluralistic imagination— its very eclecticism a necessary amplitude at this juncture, as the manifesto of One Struggle stresses (15). Geographer David Harvey has noted that there is a time and place “where alternative visions, no matter how fantastic, provide the grist for shaping powerful forces for change. I believe we are precisely at such a moment. Utopian dreams —are omnipresent in the signifiers of our desires” (16). Khalas!

Notes

1. Esteve, Gustavo. 2003 “A flower in the hands of the people,” The New Internationalist, #360, http://www.findarticles.com/cf_0/m0JQP/360/108648118/p1/article.jhtml

2. “Survival of the Fittest,” Ari Shavit interviews Benny Morris, ‘04 Ha’aretz, Jan. 9.

3. Buber, Martin. 1958 Paths in Utopia, Boston: Beacon, 136. Separated from their Zionist nationalist envelope, Buber’s ideas on communalism, heavily influenced by Gustav Landauer’s anarchism, are worth being retrofitted within a retrieval of Israeli libertarian heritage, itself feeding into the beginning of an Israeli and Palestinian people’s movement for a ‘Cooperative Commonwealth of Jerusalem.’

4. Wallerstein, Immanuel 1998 Utopistics, New York: New Press, 2-3, 89-90.

5. Morris: “a column entered the village with all guns blazing and killed anything that moved.”

6. See Morris, 2004 The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited, Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

7. The need for an ‘iron wall’ against the Palestinians is a slogan coined in 1923 by Zeev Jabotinsky, founder and ideologue of the movement and party Ahdut HaAvoda.

unpredictable in its trajectory" on a global scale (4). In his diagnosis, this system is swelling into terminal crisis, unsustainable socially and environmentally, the most non-egalitarian order in world history.

In Palestine, the cumulative effect of the continued Occupation and its monstrosities, the Al-Aqsa Intifada, and the implosion of internationally engineered 'peace processes,' has been system-shattering, at multiple fractal scales. Bifurcation there finds its literal icon in the Great Wall of Palestine being gouged into the land against the will of all Palestinians and many Israelis. Opposition to that Apartheid Wall, including direct action by new groups such as Anarchists Against the Wall in Israel and the grassroots Palestinian resistance initiative Stop the Wall, signals a new qualitative change in the deepening struggle. The views elaborated by Morris, who has been pushed to the nationalist right by the dynamic of bifurcation and violence, should be interpreted in that light. They are worth reviewing at some length to sense the desperation and reactionary dearth of vision of a key commentator at the present 'liminal' juncture.

Masks Removed

Morris is Israel's preeminent historian of the Palestinian expulsion and catastrophe (al-Nakba) in 1948. Over several decades of research, he has carefully documented the numerous atrocities (the worst at Dawayima village near Hebron [5]) and systematic evictions committed by the Hagana in the 'War of Independence.' This pre-state precursor of the present Israel Defense Forces (IDF) was under explicit orders to capture territory to create the new state and 'cleanse' it (le-taher, the term repeatedly used in 1948 Hagana orders and field reports) of its native Palestinian population (6). He has long been considered a leading light of the 'post-Zionist' left in Israel. In 1988, he was jailed for refusing to serve in the territories. Yet now Morris has taken off his mask, expressing hard-bitten views that can only hearten Israelis on the extreme right. As his interviewer Ari Shavit notes: "the great documenter of the sins of Zionism in fact identifies with those sins."



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Cages and Iron Walls

In commenting on the Great Wall of Palestine now being built, Morris's take is almost vicious, racist: "Something like a cage has to be built for them. I know that sounds terrible. It is really cruel. But there is no choice. There is a wild animal there that has to be locked up in one way or another. —An iron wall is a good image. An iron wall is the most reasonable policy for the coming generation. In the 1950s — Ben Gurion argued that the Arabs understand only force and that ultimate force is the one thing that will persuade them to accept our presence here. He was right —Preserving my people is more important than universal moral concepts" (7).

The Enemy Within

Speaking about his fellow citizens who are Palestinian, nearly 20 percent of the Israeli population today, and more than a quarter of the population of the Negev/al-Naqab desert where Morris teaches at Ben Gurion University in Beersheva/ Bi'r As-Sab', he replies: "The Israeli Arabs are a time bomb. Their slide into complete Palestinization has made them an

far as to reiterate the 'clash of civilizations' thesis, with Israel at its very forward outpost: "The Arab world as it is today is barbarian. —I think that the war between the civilizations is the main characteristic of the 21st century. —This is a struggle against a whole world that espouses different values. And we are on the front line. Exactly like the Crusaders, we are the vulnerable branch of Europe in this place."

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Reclaiming Commons: Harambee!

Morris's dark assessment of the fundamental unworkability of the nation-state in Palestine is a powerful argument for the imperative of alternative vision: the need for a Zapatista'd movement to capture the imagination of ordinary Israelis and Palestinians to move beyond the solution of conventional 'governmentality' and any 'state.' In a sense, this conflict is emblematic of the "perverse perseverance of sovereignty," its "vicious, security-based ontology" (8). We have to turn that authoritarian ontology on its head, precisely where community has imploded and the commons is controlled on both sides of the divide by hierarchies of violence. We must strive to create a mosaic society of ta'ayush, founded on autonomy, direct democracy, participatory economy and the kind of neighborhood Household and Home Assemblies that Jared James envisions in Getting Free, generating a scalar geometry of people's initiatives from the bottom up, a network of dual power, the incubators of a new society of

amplitude at this juncture, as the manifesto of One Struggle stresses (15). Geographer David Harvey has noted that there is a time and place "where alternative visions, no matter how fantastic, provide the grist for shaping powerful forces for change. I believe we are precisely at such a moment. Utopian dreams —are omnipresent in the signifiers of our desires" (16). Khalas!

Notes

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7. The need for an 'iron wall' against the Palestinians is a slogan coined in 1923 by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder and ideologue of the movement and party Ariel Sharon now heads.
8. Burke, Anthony 2002 "The Perverse Perseverance of Sovereignty," *borderlands e-journal* 1 (2), http://www.borderlandsejournal.adelaide.edu.au/vol1no2_2002/burke_perverse.html
9. James, Jared. 2002 *Getting Free*, http://site.www.umb.edu/faculty/salzman_g/Strategy/GettingFree/
10. In Swahili, harambee means "let's all pull together!" It is the cry in unison of the fishermen as they draw their nets towards the shore, the chorus when a collective effort is made for the common good. It can be adopted as a rallying cry for mutual aid on both sides of the divide in Israel/Palestine. See also Wallerstein, *Utopistics*, 92.
11. Alliance for Freedom and Direct Democracy 2002 "Manifesto," <http://www.afadd.org>
12. See my exploratory paper forthcoming in *borderlands e-journal* 2004.
13. Wallerstein, 35.
14. Albert, Michael. 2003 *Parecon*. Life after Capitalism, London: Verso, 4 ff.
15. One Struggle 2003 *Manifesto*, <http://www.onestruggle.org> (Hebrew & partial English).
16. Harvey, D. 2000 *Spaces of Hope*, Berkeley: UCP, 195.

Bill Templer is a Chicago-born Israeli on the staff of the Dubnow Institute for Jewish History, University of Leipzig.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

Radical Parenting

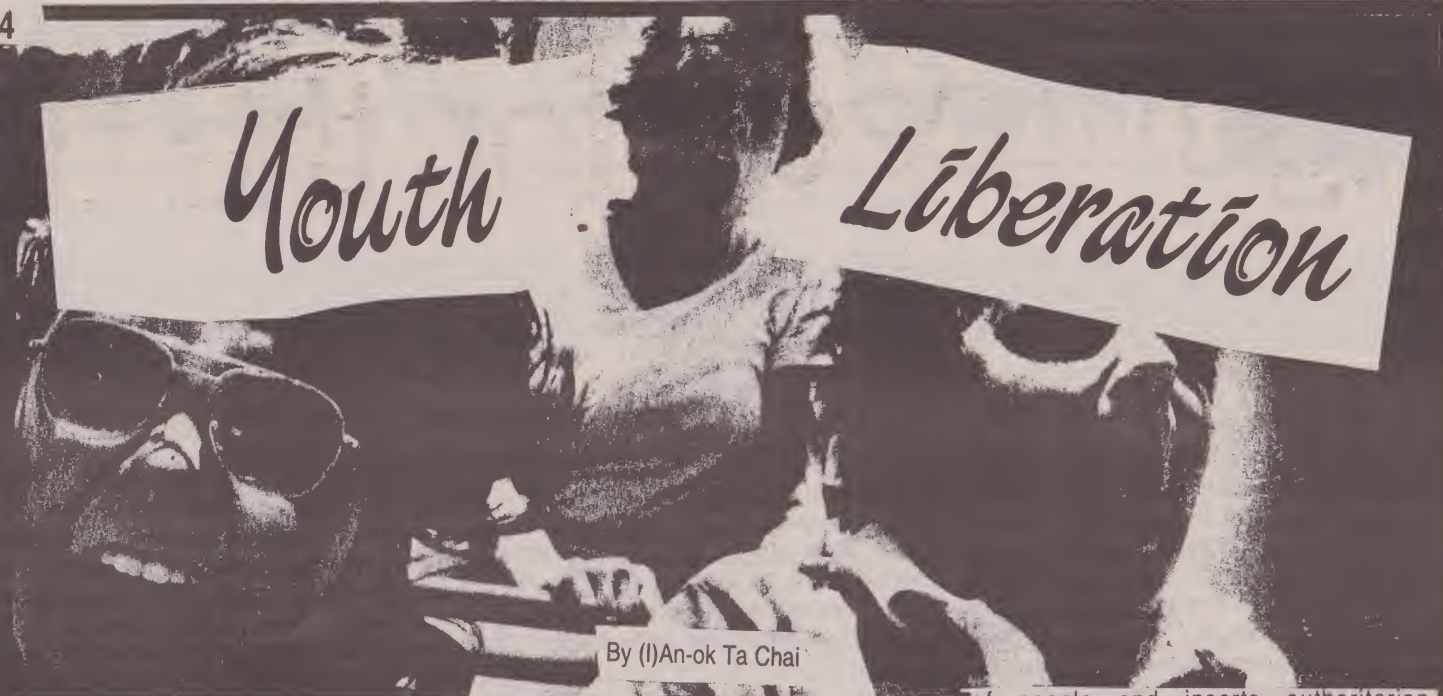
raise a child who can reject and fight against these systems of dominance and oppression, yet who can also function in the world. I want to be an excellent parent.

Excellent parenting looks different to different people. To me it is about putting my daughter's well-being ahead of my own conveniences. It means not blaming her when parenting is hard. It means taking care of myself. More concretely, it means consistently treating her with respect, supporting her efforts at self-determination, and keeping her safe. It means learning how to raise a girl-assigned child in a patriarchal culture who has a strong self esteem and can kick ass. It means modeling principled choices and behavior. It means doing research and thinking critically about how to parent and picking and choosing the tools and techniques that are right for us. It means recognizing my child's need for love and comfort as being as important than her need for food. Does it mean more?

I have high hopes, yet realistic expectations. My daughter might or might not be a revolutionary, but I am determined that she have the capacity!

What the anarchist utopia looks like will be determined by the people who live in it. I think it will include respect and reverence for all people and creatures. It will emphasize collectivity and interdependence over rugged individualism, and respect for autonomy won't be at the expense of mutual aid and free association. In the anarchist utopia I'm hoping for, everyone will expect all of their needs to be met, and scream like hell when they aren't. In the anarchist utopia, people will be gentle with each other regardless of age— or any other factor.

Building the new world in the shell of the old involves living as much as possible as though the anarchist utopia was already here,



By (I)An-ok Ta Chai

You can tell a great deal about a society if you look at how they treat their children and their elderly. In our society both children and the elderly are often disconnected from other age groups and forced into institutional settings; schools for children and nursing homes for the elderly. Children are brainwashed into the system and the elderly are forgotten and faded out once their ability to produce and spend capital wanes.

It is because of this that I believe in radical youth liberation. Some people have a hard time fully understanding this. "How does ageism compare to the brutalities of imperialism/capitalism/the state?" they ask me. "Ageism", the mere prejudice and discrimination of people based on their age, may not be as big a problem as capitalism/the state, I agree. To look at youth liberation in terms of just "ageism" is to miss the point. "Gerontocracy", or, the ongoing and systemic domination of kids* by those older than them is my focus.

One important thing to always keep in mind is that kids are human beings, just like the rest

of people and inserts authoritarian programming so that they can later reproduce institutions such as the state, capitalism and gerontocracy when they get older themselves. With this being the case, let's call it like it is - kids are slaves in this society. Kids cannot freely disassociate without fear of their parents or the state somehow hunting them down and dragging them back. Kids are forced to go to concentration camps (we call them "schools"). Kids cannot deny or receive medical care at their own will - an adult has to decide for them. Kids do not have ultimate say over their own time, bodies, activities, behaviors and choices - some parental or other adult figure has to determine it for them. This is slavery, pure, systemic, out-right slavery. It is slavery based upon the widespread use of

violence, the threat of violence, and by emotional manipulation, intimidation and brainwashing.

The spirits of kids are continually beaten down by authority, particularly adult authority, in order to crush their wills, to break them of their individuality, spontaneity, creativity, curiosity and comfort with their own autonomy. Kids are constantly faced with

of people and inserts authoritarian programming so that they can later reproduce institutions such as the state, capitalism and gerontocracy when they get older themselves.

The domination of kids contains within it the very same fundamental dynamics of authority and control that as anarchists, we should actively be opposing. The very act of being subservient, the very act of compliance and submission, the very act of rule and bossing are all at play within the dichotomy of "parental authority figure" and "child", and it is because of this that we need to decisively condemn and attack this horrendous relationship in favor of relations based upon mutual respect, autonomy and free association.

Striving for the liberation of kids is not just some single-issue cause, it is not some guilt-ridden "identity politics" thing, and it is not some radical past time totally disconnected from the greater struggle against the System. The domination of kids is a form of real-life slavery that goes on all around us, it acts to reinforce and reproduce the state, capitalism and other institutions of control, and it contains within it the same fundamental relations of authority and domination that are

the tools and techniques that are right for us. It means recognizing my child's need for love and comfort as being as important than her need for food. Does it mean more?

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Building the new world in the shell of the old involves living as much as possible as though the anarchist utopia was already here, incorporating as much of the values and systems and methods of our ideal world into our actual world. This is why I live collectively, for instance, and use collective decision making where I can. And I continually explore how to apply this approach to my parenting in ways which are also excellent parenting.

I won't say that approaching parenting this way is going to make the revolution, but it is one of the necessary components for radical social change, and who better to begin this approach than the (broadly defined) anarchist/radical community? It's worth doing because the process of exploring these ideas is constantly challenging and deepening my political analysis and commitment. And it's worth doing because it is a damn good way to raise a child, and parenting is worth doing well.

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One important thing to always keep in mind is that kids are human beings, just like the rest of us. People do not suddenly become human when they turn a certain age - they are born that way. With this being the case, kids have the inherent human ability to learn, grow, develop and direct their own lives as they see fit, just like anybody else. Kids do not understand everything, kids make mistakes, and kids need help and support but all of this can be said of every human being.

The often unspoken notion that adults are omniscient, infallible and not dependent upon the help and support of others while kids are very much the opposite is a distortion of reality necessary to construct the social hierarchy of adults over kids. This all becomes very apparent if one reflects on how a proposition to systematically dominate people who are physically ill, injured, ignorant, ill informed, or intoxicated (all of which are also temporary conditions) would be universally laughed at and dismissed.

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The spirits of kids are continually beaten down by authority, particularly adult authority, in order to crush their wills, to break them of their individuality, spontaneity, creativity, curiosity and comfort with their own autonomy. Kids are constantly faced with various kinds of parental authorities, school authorities, state institutions, and a mass culture all intended to mold them, to get them to jump on command, take orders, and do what they're told.

As I see it, the domination of kids is not just a horror because of the sheer lack of autonomy, respect and dignity that all these unique young human beings experience, it is also an integral part of the greater social system of domination, control and alienation - civilization itself. The domination of kids breaks the wills

DON'T ENSLAVE THE FUTURE



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Youth liberation is not a new idea, a lot of people have written about it and articulated it in different ways. There are already a number of people out there practicing, or at least trying to practice, autonomy respecting ways of relating with kids. Something new that I would like to see is a consistent, coherent and passionate defense of kids by the anarchist community. Every person goes through being a

kid and that's usually the first time the spirit is broken by authority. With this being the case, it only makes sense for anarchists to have youth liberation fully integrated with the rest of the anarchist perspective. Gerontocracy needs to be right up there with capitalism, the state, patriarchy, and white supremacy as institutions of social control that, as anarchists, we aim to destroy.

* I use the word "kids" in this article because "young people" can mean people over the age of 18, a group of people which do experience prejudice and discrimination but does not have to deal with the out-right slavery that those under 18 face. I do not use "children" because I see that

A CHILD'S BILL OF RIGHTS

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DON'T ENSLAVE THE FUTURE



A CHILD'S BILL OF RIGHTS

- 1** The Right to Self-Determination-Children should have the right to decide matters which affect them most directly.
- 2** The Right to Alternative Home Environments-Parents are not always good for their children.
- 3** The Right to Responsive Design-Society must accomodate to their size & need for safe space.
- 4** The Right to Information-A child must have the right to all information
- 5** The Right to Educate Oneself-Children should be free to design their own education, including the option to attend no school at all.
- 6** The Right to Freedom from Physical Punishment-...from those who are larger & more powerful than they.
- 7** The Right to Sexual Freedom-Information about sex, a non sexist education, the same rights as adults including the right to refuse.
- 8** The Right to Economic Power-The right to work, to acquire & manage money, to recieve equal pay for equal work.
- 9** The Right to Political Power-To have the vote & be included in the decision-making process.
- 10** The Right to Justice-The guarantee of a fair trial with due process of law.

...get ready for the draft

by Kirsten Anderberg

America is at war, in a very colonialistic occupation, no matter what fancy words we use. It is a very unpopular war. It is not a "liberation." I worry that America will be in a perpetual war on the world, and I do not believe it can do that endlessly without the draft being reinstated. Just as Americans MUST pillage oil-rich countries to sustain their one-driver/one-car needs, they also are going to require expendable bodies, eventually, for all this warring.

I am the mother of a 19 year old male. And even though there is not an active draft right now, my son was required by federal law to register for the Selective Service System (SSS), aka "the draft" as soon as he hit 18. He was also required to register for the draft to receive financial aid in college. He decided that since it is a felony crime not to register, it was easiest to register, and then research alternatives. Some resist registration, and I applaud those efforts. But for the rest of us, we need to know what the options are.

The biggest questions are, "How does the draft work?," and "How do you establish Conscientious Objector (CO) status to get out of military service?"

How Does The Draft Work?

Before a draft can be enacted, Congress and the President have to authorize the draft calls. Under current laws, the draft will start with men who turn 20 years old in the year the draft was enacted. They will be placed in a "lottery" system. If your name is called up in the lottery, you have 10 days to report to the Military Entrance Processing Station (MEPS), unless you file a claim for a deferment or exemption.

Once called up for service, you file your Conscientious Objector claim with the military. Once your claim is filed, your induction date will be postponed while the draft board investigates the claim. If your claim is rejected, you receive a new induction date. (Seems like EVERYONE should at least use this to buy time!) The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors can help you find legal aid and resources so you can get through the long appeals process. You can claim all classifications that apply to you. Currently, the exemptions from the draft are: * a minister or divinity student * sole surviving son of a family whose mother, father or siblings have died as a result of military action * sole financial or other support to family members who are dependent, elderly, disabled and/or ill * physically or mentally incapable of being in

the military * homosexual or bisexual * a Conscientious Objector

The legal definition of "Conscientious Objector" is: "a person who objects to participation in all forms of war, and whose belief is based on religious, moral or ethical

How Do You Establish Conscientious Objector Status?

STEP ONE - STATEMENT OF BELIEFS
The first step is to write "Conscientious Objector" on the bottom of the card you send in to register with the SSS. If you missed the chance for that or registered online, don't worry. There are things you can do NOW. The reason that you need to make a CO file NOW is that once a draft is enacted, you could have 9 days to get a file together on your behalf! Do it now, and the older and longer you have a file on this, the more success you will have at an exemption.

Form 22 of the current Selective Service Documentation form for CO's ask several questions that you need to think about and answer on file now. It asks you to "describe your beliefs which are the reasons for your claiming conscientious objection to combatant military training and service or to all military training and service." You want to make a statement on paper NOW that includes these concepts. Write your own statement about why you object to war. Start by saying that you are conscientiously opposed to war, then describe what beliefs lead you to that stance. Be clear about whether you are a CO or a noncombatant CO. If you want a full exemption, be clear about why noncombatant service would violate your conscience.

Form 22 also says, "Describe how and when you acquired these beliefs." Write down a list of events, people, experiences, and influences that have lead you to these beliefs. Include classes, travel, religious, experiences,

person. A "system" is "established." Take the time to construct a solid, logical statement based on facts and traditions, rather than making an illusive free-spirit argument.

Form 22 also says, "Explain what most clearly shows that your beliefs are deeply held. You may wish to include a description of how your beliefs affect the way you live." If you do not have alot of experience to cite here as proof of your convictions, you can use your future plans to illustrate your convictions. Talk about previous classes or future career plans that relate to your CO status. Describe letters to editors, essays from school, anything that shows your commitment as a CO. Talk about how your life is lived in accordance with your CO beliefs. Use this opportunity to show the sincerity of your claims.

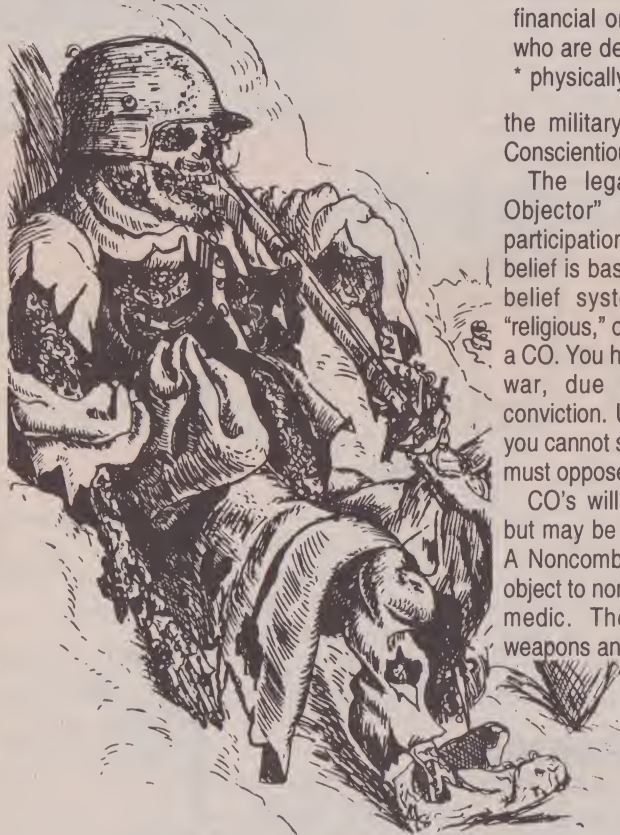
STEP TWO - LETTERS OF SUPPORT
Once you have composed your CO statement, send it to people who know you, and ask them to write a letter of support. These people will read your statement and attest to the sincerity of your statement, based on their experiences with you. Especially good are letters from clergy, teachers, and professional relations. The best letters are from people who disagree with CO status, but believe your statement regarding your own beliefs. You should solicit 3-4 letters, then pick the best 2-3 and keep them on record. You may also want to compose a list of people to testify on your behalf at the draft hearing and keep that on file too.

STEP THREE - RECORDING YOUR FILES
Once you have written the statement of beliefs



I am the mother of a 19 year old male. And even though there is not an active draft right now, my son was required by federal law to register for the Selective Service System (SSS), aka "the draft" as soon as he hit 18. He was also required to register for the draft to receive financial aid in college. He decided that since it is a felony crime not to register, it was easiest to register, and then research alternatives. Some resist registration, and I applaud those efforts. But for the rest of us, we need to know what the options are.

The biggest questions are, "How does the draft work?" and "How do you establish Conscientious Objector (CO) status to get out of military service?"



Once called up for service, you file your Conscientious Objector claim with the military. Once your claim is filed, your induction date will be postponed while the draft board investigates the claim. If your claim is rejected, you receive a new induction date. (Seems like EVERYONE should at least use this to buy time!) The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors can help you find legal aid and resources so you can get through the long appeals process. You can claim all classifications that apply to you. Currently, the exemptions from the draft are: * a minister or divinity student * sole surviving son of a family whose mother, father or siblings have died as a result of military action * sole financial or other support to family members who are dependent, elderly, disabled and/or ill * physically or mentally incapable of being in

the military * homosexual or bisexual * a Conscientious Objector

The legal definition of "Conscientious Objector" is: "a person who objects to participation in all forms of war, and whose belief is based on a religious, moral or ethical belief system." You do not need to be "religious," or even believe in god, to qualify as a CO. You have to oppose organized killing and war, due to religious, moral or ethical conviction. Under the current legal definitions, you cannot selectively oppose certain wars, but must oppose ALL wars.

CO's will be exempt from military service but may be required to perform civilian tasks. A Noncombatant CO is a CO who does not object to noncombatant military duties, such as medic. These CO's are trained without weapons and assigned to non-combatant duty.

days to get a file together on your behalf! Do it now, and the older and longer you have a file on this, the more success you will have at an exemption.

Form 22 of the current Selective Service Documentation form for CO's ask several questions that you need to think about and answer on file now. It asks you to "describe your beliefs which are the reasons for your claiming conscientious objection to combatant military training and service or to all military training and service." You want to make a statement on paper NOW that includes these concepts. Write your own statement about why you object to war. Start by saying that you are conscientiously opposed to war, then describe what beliefs lead you to that stance. Be clear about whether you are a CO or a noncombatant CO. If you want a full exemption, be clear about why noncombatant service would violate your conscience.

Form 22 also says, "Describe how and when you acquired these beliefs." Write down a list of events, people, experiences, and influences that have lead you to these beliefs. Include classes, travel, religious experiences, teachings, volunteer work, activism, anything that has helped influence you to be a CO. It is important to establish your beliefs as a higher, conventional value, since unconventional and mere political beliefs do not make the cut. An arbitrary personal belief will not stand. It has to be based on "a religious, moral or ethical belief system." Or in other words, you need to tailor your argument to fit a traditional anti-war "system." A "system" is more than one



future plans to illustrate your convictions. Talk about previous classes or future career plans that relate to your CO status. Describe letters to editors, essays from school, anything that shows your commitment as a CO. Talk about how your life is lived in accordance with your CO beliefs. Use this opportunity to show the sincerity of your claims.

STEP TWO - LETTERS OF SUPPORT

Once you have composed your CO statement, send it to people who know you, and ask them to write a letter of support. These people will read your statement and attest to the sincerity of your statement, based on their experiences with you. Especially good are letters from clergy, teachers, and professional relations. The best letters are from people who disagree with CO status, but believe your statement regarding your own beliefs. You should solicit 3-4 letters, then pick the best 2-3 and keep them on record. You may also want to compose a list of people to testify on your behalf at the draft hearing and keep that on file too.

STEP THREE - RECORDING YOUR FILES

Once you have written the statement of beliefs and gathered the letters of support and witnesses, you need to make three separate CO files. Keep the original copies of the statement and the letters of support in a file at your own home. Send copies of the letters and statement to the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors so that an unrelated third party has your file. And then give a third copy of the materials to a community leader, a member of clergy or any person who can vouch for your sincerity later.

STEP FOUR - KEEP INFORMED Check out these resources: Center for Conscientious Objectors - www.objector.org; National Council of Churches - www.nccusa.org; www.nisbco.org; Unitarian Universalist Association - www.uua.org; www.draftresistance.org.

Anti-Militarist Anarchy

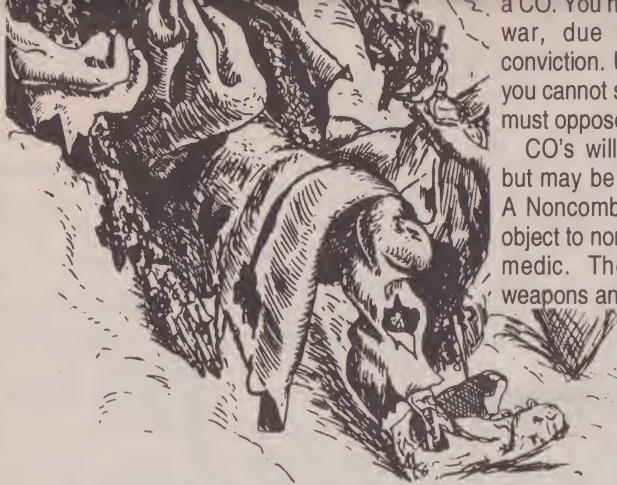
By (I)An-ok Ta Chai

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Anti-Militarist Anarchy

By (I)An-ok Ta Chai

War is a fight for domination. One state is trying to violently seize power and control over another.

Backing up the military apparatus necessary to carry this out is the intense alienation between people. People need to see one another as just roles, labels, "enemies", and interchangeable cogs in massive institutional machines, in other words, complete dehumanization. This alienation is reinforced by capitalist consumer culture and authority itself, both of which need to dehumanize people in order to function.

Alienation also leads to us not being able to help one another out, support one another, or accomplish great new things together. Alienation leads us to think that it is not possible for us to work together to meet ALL of our needs.

Dehumanization makes it possible to kill, maim and torture fellow human beings. One does not concern one's self with the destruction of mere foreign objects.

Authority makes it possible to deny the inherent self-directing and self-realizing nature of human beings. Authority is the delegation of all self-responsibility. "I was just following orders", "I'm just doing my job" and "I had to do it" are the true rallying cries for authority.

The State is the organized institutional apparatus that makes it possible to commit the genocide that we call "war" and to put people in the soul-killing cages that we call "prisons" and "jails", all the while denying our own complicity and responsibility in making it happen.

And war, war is the culmination of all of this. War is the final herd-mentality push that keeps the industrial factories running and that keeps the violent gangs of thugs that we call "the police" from being overwhelmed by the passions of everyday people. War is what keeps up the mass violence, death, carnage and destruction needed to crush our hopes for a world and life of voluntary cooperation, harmonious mutual aid, and creative beauty.

As anarchists, we understand this; we respect our inherent human dignity; we respect our vast potential and possibility for joyous living; we respect that freely helping one another out is our most natural and healthy state of affairs as human beings.

With this being the case, we recognize that our resistance must be complete and total. We recognize that not only must war and militarism be opposed, but the State and capitalism must be opposed as well. We recognize that not only must nationalism and jingoism be opposed, but all authority and domination must be opposed as well.

This is not just radical fanaticism and utopian dreaming, this is an understanding of what it means to be human. Our resistance is not just dreaming of overcoming the impossible, it is a reaffirmation of our own inherent power as individuals and the unstoppable force of mutual aid and cooperation.

There is a war going on, but Iraq is just one battlefield of it. This is indeed a fight of life and death proportions, but the "life" that I am talking about entails the fullest sense of the term. The kind of life that I am talking about can only thrive in TOTAL ANARCHY!!

"Every second that I spend working is a denial of the kind of life I really want to live." - from "Temp Slave"



NO HONOR IN H

By Astrogirl

Issues of violence against womyn are not tied to any one region of the world or to any particular religious or cultural groups. Violence against womyn is an issue that affects the entire human race. From an anarchist perspective the first group of humans to be subjugated by another group of humans was womyn. This violence takes on many different forms worldwide and is perpetuated in myriad ways. It is integral that this be recognized and that our understanding of misogyny and its deep roots in the development of societies worldwide resonate with us so that we can avoid perpetuating this oppression. Honor killings are but one extreme and unreported form in which violence is manifest.

Honor killings are executed for instances of rape, infidelity, flirting or any other instance perceived as disgracing the family's honor. Any action construed as disrespectful towards men or the traditional way of life warrants an honor killing. In the eyes of society it is not only expected but required.

A human rights report published in 1999 stated that honor killings took the lives of 888 womyn in the single province of Punjab in Pakistan in 1998. In 2002 461 womyn were murdered in Pakistan for immoral behavior ranging from being raped to cooking poorly. In Jordan published figures state that one womyn a week is killed for losing her chastity whether she is a victim of rape or rumor.

Honor killing began in the Middle East long before the birth of Christianity or Islam when Arabia was populated and ruled by nomadic tribes. The code of honor killing has its roots in the Hammurabi and Assyrian Laws from 1200 BC. which declared womyns chastity to be her families property. These laws evolved from an unforgiving desert and are common to Arabs of the region regardless of their religion. Shi'ite and Sunni Muslims as well as various

Christian sects dwelling there today still believe in the towering importance of man's honor. Sharif Kanaana, professor of anthropology at Birzeit University in Palestine explains that it is a "complicated issue that cuts deep into the history of Arab society." The practice stemmed from the patriarchal society's interest in maintaining strict control over designated familial power structures. "What the men of the family, clan, or tribe want is the reproductive power. Womyn are considered a factory for making men. The honor killing is not a means of control of sexual power or behavior but an issue of fertility and reproductive power," explains Sharif Kananna.

In 1998 the U.N. conservatively estimated that over 5,000 womyn are killed for reasons of honor each year although it impossible to really say when many cases go unreported. 1998 and 2000 U.N. reports document the practice occurring in Yemen, Lebanon, Egypt, the West Bank, Gaza, Bangladesh, Turkey, Jordan, Israel, India, Italy, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Pakistan, Brazil, Ecuador, Uganda, Morocco, Iraq, Iran and Afghanistan. In the Turkish province of Sanliurfa, one young womyn's throat was slit in the town square because a love ballad was dedicated to her over the radio. This behavior is considered a normal response and is often celebrated by the family and the community. The general feeling is articulated well by former Jordanian Minister of Justice, Abdul Karim Dughmi in August of 2001 when he responded to a question about honor killings in instances of rape with a smile and said, "All womyn killed in cases of honor are prostitutes. I believe prostitutes deserve to die." (Taken from the Jordan Times).

"The honor of the family is very dependent on a woman's virginity," says Shadia Sarraj of the Women's Empowerment Project at the

Gaza Community Mental Health Project. A woman's virginity is the property of the men around her, first her father, later a gift for her husband; a virtual dowry as she graduates to marriage. In this context, a woman's honor is a commodity which must be guarded by a network of family and community members. The woman is guarded externally by her behavior and dress code and internally by keeping her hymen intact."

Often burning the womyn or scarring them with acid are the preferred method of men committing such crimes. The Progressive Women's Association, which assists attack victims, tracked 3,560 Pakistani womyn who were hospitalized after being attacked at home with fire, gasoline or acid between 1994 and 1999. About half of the victims died. Such crimes are also rife in Bangladesh where some 2,000 womyn are disfigured every year in acid attacks by jealous or estranged men. In most cases the men who commit the crimes go unpunished or receive reduced sentences.

According to Rana Hussieni, a Jordanian Human Rights Activist campaigning against crimes of honor, today in Jordan, there are about 40 womyn who are spending time in prisons without any charge or court ruling because they became pregnant out of wedlock or were involved in immoral affairs. Some of the womyn have been in for 11 years because the authorities are afraid to release them due to the probability that they will be murdered by their families.

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TEACHING

THE

CONQ

By Bill Templer

In "rejecting the Iraq quagmire" (PB Floyd, #79), its duplicity and failures and lies, we should also be opposing the recruitment of North American, British and Australian 'experts' to help implement the ongoing 'reconstruction' and creation of an American puppet plutocracy in West Asia. An integral component of the "colonialist shell game" Floyd calls attention to is the occupiers' need to impose English as a working language for the occupation and future satellite. This article looks a bit at imperial English in connection with this latest conflict in America's drive to implant its culture, power and megalanguage across the globe.

The anti-occupation movement should be pressing on campuses and in professional organizations for those with 'needed skills' to refuse to cooperate with this monstrosity. And that means teachers of English as well.

Chinua Achebe called "the world language which history has forced down our throats."

EFL on the March

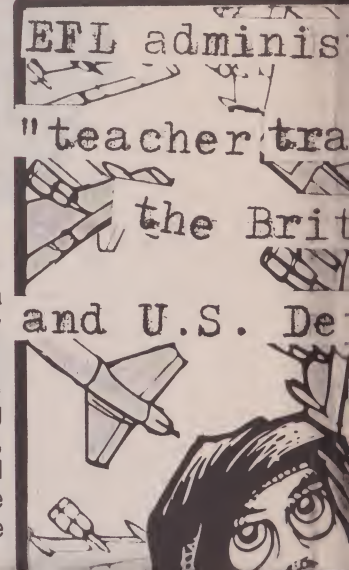
American hegemony — its geopolitics driven by the key assumption that it has defined the way of life that must be adopted by all — must rely on the learning of its language in order to maintain and cement its control, in Iraq and Afghanistan, as elsewhere (Pennycook 1994;1999). While EFL suffuses at a dizzying pace along the Gulf, generating a veritable boom in lucrative positions for "native-speaker" EFL teachers and applied linguists, Iraq has for two decades remained an impenetrable fortress. Now those walls have been razed, quite literally, and the scramble for jobs to teach EFL and other academic specialties in Iraq is in the offing.

EFL administrators and "teacher trainers" in the British Council and U.S. Dept. of State

course EFL, molding the new pro-American Iraqi "elite" in the image of Wolfowitz, Halliburton & Co. Helping to consolidate an Iraqi economy and polity coupled like a caboose to the US engine. And masterminded by educators, planners, economists, engineers, consultants and other 'professionals' from the states.

Hegemony's Machine

As Hodge (2002) has put it: "The 'new world order' is a Disequilibrium Machine, a manic device which produces exponentially increasing inequality (of power, wealth, health, conditions of life) on a planetary scale, affecting all nations and peoples, transforming political and cultural relations between people, changing the relations between humans and all other species, between humans and the life processes of the planet itself. It is a single process at every fractal scale."



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The anti-occupation movement should be pressing on campuses and in professional organizations for those with 'needed skills' to refuse to cooperate with this monstrosity. And that means teachers of English as well as 'professionals' in a hundred other disciplines, ordinary American taxpayers from all walks who foot the staggering bills for this 'transfer of expertise,' who watch their kids get sent as soldiers to protect it.

An Influx of "Know-How"

The Pentagon already needs entire battalions of interpreters — or brigades of imported teachers of English as a foreign language (EFL) to administer the "rebuilt" Iraq now on the drawing boards. The lucrative "market" for EFL being opened up by our generals will be a windfall for teachers from Sydney to Seattle. Experts from numerous other fields are also being recruited to "reshape" Iraqi education, from kindergartens to universities. And platoons of Western researchers, including grad students, will soon descend on a 'pacified' Iraq as transnational foundations seek to fund new projects. North American, British and Australian universities will attempt to set agendas for "collaboration" and research in Iraqi academe. In this complex picture, I want to concentrate on the predictable massive infusion of what

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EFL administrators and "teacher trainers" in the British Council and U.S. Dept. of State are beginning to lay the groundwork for what they may call "Operation Iraqi English Literacy". That is only in "pragmatic" hands-on character for the BC and the Education Office within the Department of State — they are after all a proven arm of the British and American governments in the implementation of cultural policy centered on spreading the blessings of the hegemonic language. The English Language Fellow Program funded by the Dept. of State will probably soon announce big-bucks "openings" in Iraqi academe. The commercial "EFL industry" from Melbourne to Maine is now gearing to set up a whole chain of private schools and language centers in the ruins to aid the Anglo-American firms already cashing in on their bonanza. Peace Corps planners doubtless hope to realize an old dream: penetrating the high schools and villages in a major country in the Arab East, gaining a foothold in a region where the PC is still largely outside. American universities are also scouting the Iraqi terrain for appropriate sites to set up "branch campuses" (like City U/Seattle across Eastern Europe) to promote democracy, teach business management and of

course EFL, molding the new pro-American Iraqi "elite" in the image of Wolfowitz, Halliburton & Co. Helping to consolidate an Iraqi economy and polity coupled like a caboose to the US engine. And masterminded by educators, planners, economists, engineers, consultants and other 'professionals' from the states.

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This is the device — its imaginary and brutal reality — we are now up against and must struggle to counter. As our "gunfighter nation" regenerates itself through violence and unilateral conquest on ever new 'frontiers' (Slotkin 1993), the English language teaching profession in particular needs to interrogate its vested interest and central role in the maintenance and reproduction of the language of Empire and its pax Americana (Phillipson 1992; Pennycook 1998).

Academic Moratorium?

Students, educators and others who are outraged by this war and the values it represents must question any 'complicity' by their professional organizations and universities in the "transfer" of knowledge and skills under the occupation. Under conditions of "neocolonial" reconstruction and semi-military administration, the first imperative is an academic and professional boycott or moratorium on expatriate personnel recruitment for projects and employment in Iraq, and on participation in externally generated and uninvited "research."

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The story of a brother and sister in Daliat al Carmel, a small Israeli Druze village in October 16, 1995 illustrates the societal pressure to carry on the tradition. Forty-year-old Ittihaj Hassoon got out of a car with her younger brother on a main street of Daliat al Carmel where over ten years before Ittihaj had committed the unpardonable sin of marrying a

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non-Druze man. Now, after luring her back to her home village with promises that all was forgiven and her safety assured, her brother finally had the chance to publicly cleanse the blot on the family name with the spilling of her blood. In broad daylight in front of witnesses, he pulled out a knife and began stabbing her. The witnesses quickly swelled to a crowd of more than 100 villagers who approving, urging him on, chanted and danced in the street. Within minutes, Hassoon lay dead on the ground while the crowd cheered her killer, "Hero, hero! You are a real man!" Four years later when Suzanne Zima interviewed Ittihaj's brother Ibrahim for the Gazette in Montreal he told her, "She is my sister, my flesh and blood, am a human being. I didn't want to kill her. I didn't want to be in this situation. They (community members) pushed me to make this decision. I know what they expect from me. If I do this, they look at me like a hero, a clean guy, a real man. If I don't kill my sister, the people would look at me like a small man."

Avenging family honor is a product of societies in which womyn's bodies have become a brutal tool in reproducing patriarchal control. How many of these crimes are based on tribal customs and how many are based on the frustrations of societal pressure? In Norma Khouri's book, "Honor Lost," recently published in 2003, she explains the culture of fear that womyn in the middle East grow up under. She says, "We are controlled by the fear that generations of male dominance have instilled in us, a fear reinforced by our mothers. Our only option seems to be to live within the rules, regulations, and beliefs of the men who govern us. We absorb from birth that breaking the code, is very, very dangerous." Honor killings are not purely about men attacking womyn, in fact, oftentimes womyn

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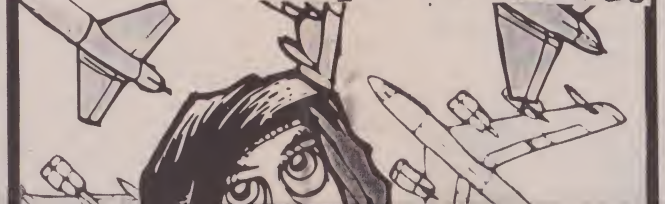
ENDING THE CONQUEROR'S

...course EFL, molding the new pro-American Iraqi "elite" in the image of Wolfowitz, Halliburton & Co. Helping to consolidate an Iraqi economy and polity coupled like a caboose to the US engine. And masterminded by educators, planners, economists, engineers, consultants and other 'professionals' from the states.

Hegemony's Machine

As Hodge (2002) has put it: "The 'new world order' is a Disequilibrium Machine, a manic device which produces exponentially increasing inequality (of power, wealth, health, conditions of life) on a planetary scale, affecting all nations and peoples, transforming political and cultural relations between people, changing the relations between humans and all other species, between humans and the life processes of the planet itself. It is a single

EFL administrators and
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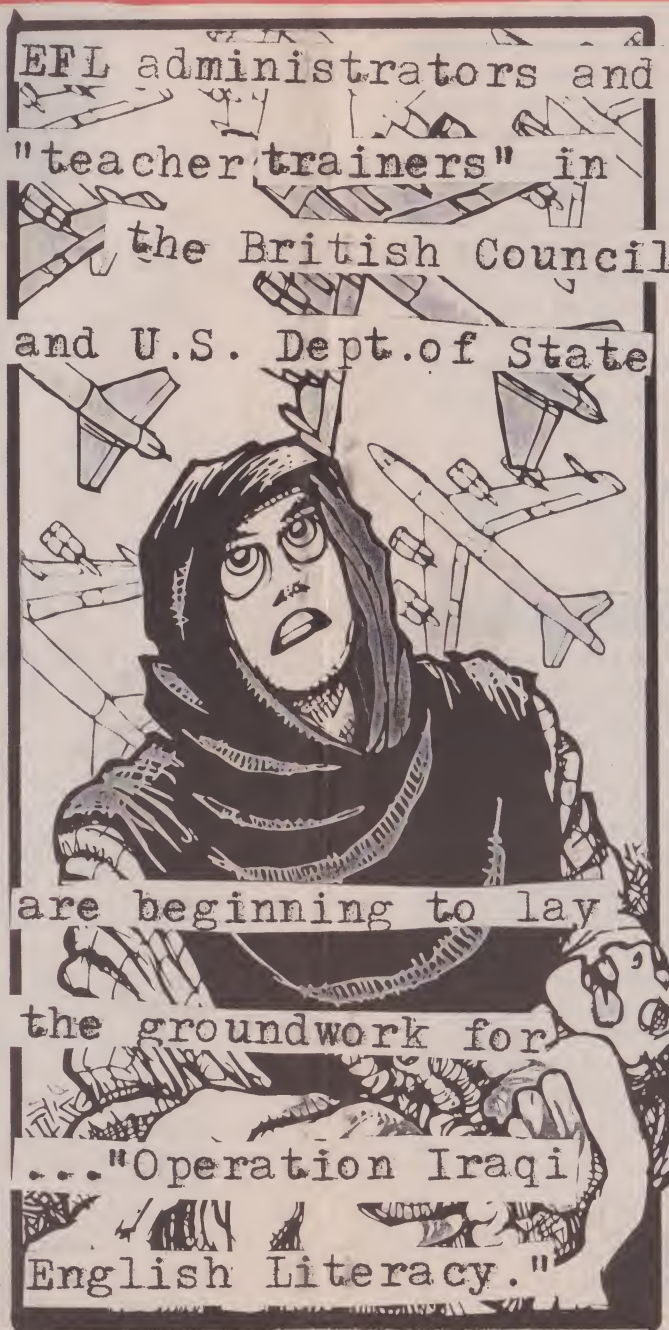
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processes of the planet itself. It is a single
process at every fractal scale."

This is the device — its imaginary and brutal
reality — we are now up against and must
struggle to counter. As our "gunfighter
nation" regenerates itself through violence and
unilateral conquest on ever new 'frontiers'
(Slotkin 1993), the English language teaching
profession in particular needs to interrogate
its vested interest and central role in the
maintenance and reproduction of the language
of Empire and its pax Americana (Phillipson
1992; Pennycook 1998).

Academic Moratorium?

Students, educators and others who are
outraged by this war and the values it
represents must question any 'complicity' by
their professional organizations and
universities in the "transfer" of knowledge and
skills under the occupation. Under conditions
of "neocolonial" reconstruction and semi-
military administration, the first imperative is
an academic and professional boycott or
moratorium on expatriate personnel
recruitment for projects and employment in
Iraq, and on participation in externally
generated and uninvited "research."



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politics of English as an international language,
its inherent aporia: the problematic links
between the diffusion of English and social
inequality, English as a narrow-door
gatekeeper to privilege and power (Dua 1994;
Pennycook 2001). And English as a Trojan
horse that helps to deepen and perpetuate
their dependence on our imperial periphery.

Grassroots Pedagogies of Resistance

One progressive alternative for us is to join
in hands-on solidarity with people's grassroots
movements in Iraq as they crystallize. In
'reclaiming the commons,' the principal right
for all Iraqis, the kind of education that should
be created need not be in the mold of what
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beyond the classroom in changing Iraq from the

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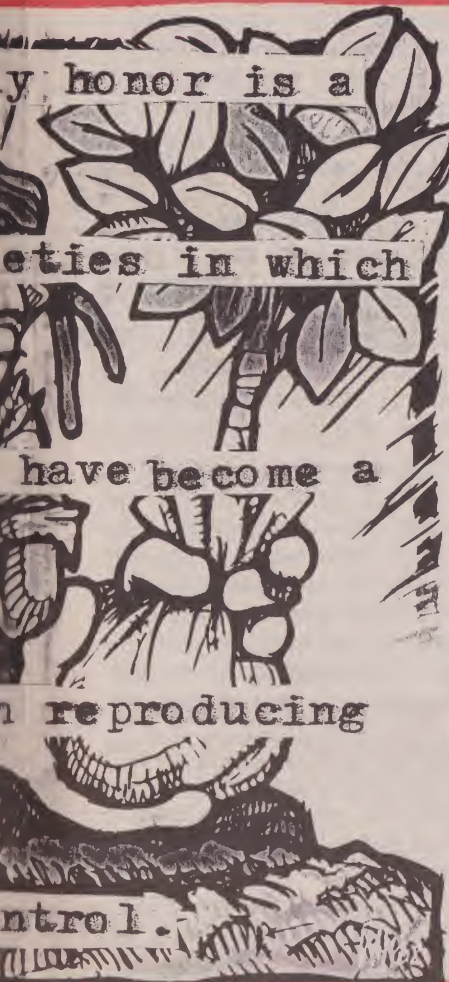
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HONOR KILLINGS



non-Druze man. Now, after luring her back to her home village with promises that all was forgiven and her safety assured, her brother finally had the chance to publicly cleanse the blot on the family name with the spilling of her blood. In broad daylight in front of witnesses, he pulled out a knife and began stabbing her. The witnesses quickly swelled to a crowd of more than 100 villagers who approving, urging him on, chanted and danced in the street. Within minutes, Hassoon lay dead on the ground while the crowd cheered her killer, "Hero, hero! You are a real man!" Four years later when Suzanne Zima interviewed Itihaj's brother Ibrahim for the Gazette in Montreal he told her, "She is my sister, my flesh and blood, am a human being. I didn't want to kill her. I didn't want to be in this situation. They (community members) pushed me to make this decision. I know what they expect from me. If I do this, they look at me like a hero, a clean guy, a real man. If I don't kill my sister, the people would look at me like a small man."

Avenging family honor is a product of societies in which womyn's bodies have become a brutal tool in reproducing patriarchal control. How many of these crimes are based on tribal customs and how many are based on the frustrations of societal pressure? In Norma Khouri's book, "Honor Lost," recently published in 2003, she explains the culture of fear that womyn in the middle East grow up under. She says, "We are controlled by the fear that generations of male dominance have instilled in us, a fear reinforced by our mothers. Our only option seems to be to live within the rules, regulations, and beliefs of the men who govern us. We absorb from birth that breaking the code, is very, very dangerous." Honor killings are not purely about men attacking womyn, in fact, oftentimes womyn

aid in the honor killings because they see it as necessary in protecting the family.

Activists throughout the Islamic world are fighting to end the practice. Some of the most noteworthy work includes RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, an independent political/social organization of Afghan women fighting for human rights and for social justice in Afghanistan. RAWA has done work including meeting the immediate needs of refugee women and children, the establishment of schools with hostels for boys and girls, and a hospital for refugee Afghan women and children in Quetta, Pakistan with mobile teams. In addition, they have conducted nursing courses, literacy courses and vocational training courses for women.

The Independent Women's Center operates three shelters in the Patriotic Union territory of Kurdistan and is currently working on opening one more shelter in the capital of Erbil which lies in the Democratic Party territory. The number of honor killings in Patriotic Union territory has steadily declined over the decades due to the hard work of human rights activists in the area, from 75 in 1991 to 15 in 2003.

Even in Saudi Arabia, known to be particularly oppressive to womyn, there are emerging human rights groups that are independent from the government. They are currently struggling to determine their structure and striving to investigate human rights abuses without government interference. In Jordan activists are fighting to abolish Penal Codes that allows for the murders and protects the murderers.

The mere knowledge that people around the world are watching what is going on gives strength and provides support to the

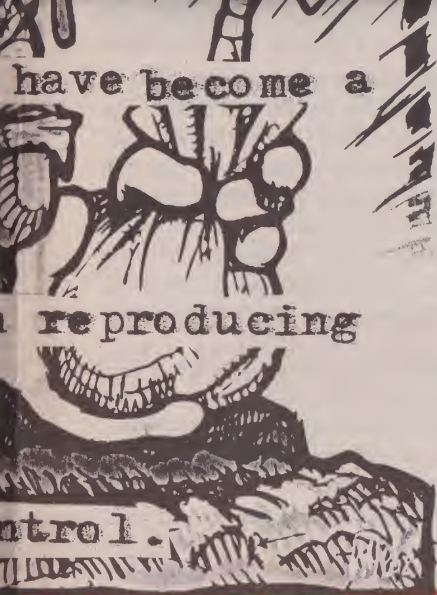
activists who are helping to educate and make change in their own countries. For those of us who want to help there are several avenues. Educating people in our own countries and raising funds to support regional projects that are providing assistance to womyn, gathering information for statistics, and through raising awareness internationally.

While it is essential that we examine the different ways misogyny is manifest worldwide it is integral that we direct our opposition toward the oppression of womyn everywhere and avoid contributing to the current anti-Islamic hysteria that is sweeping through the Western world.

Honor killings are only one form of misogyny that is endemic worldwide. Let us not forget the over 5,000 womyn in India who are murdered annually because their dowries are considered insufficient, deaths due to "crimes of passion" in Latin American where men serve minimal sentences for killing their wives on suspicion of infidelity, the unsolved murders of womyn in Juarez, Mexico, the one womyn raped every minute in America, and the numerous economies that are dependent on sex trafficking (700,000 to four million persons trafficked annually worldwide-mostly womyn and children.)

Clearly misogyny and violence towards womyn is a global issue and is not the doing of any one religion or culture. Misogyny is the consequence of something much more complex: power, greed, the commodification of womyn and the global belief that permeates cultures worldwide that womyn are the property of men.

To find out what womyn in the Arab world are working on check out <http://www.arabwomenconnect.org/>



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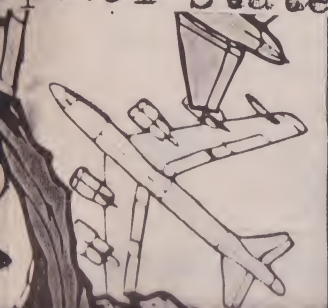
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QUEROR'S LANGUAGE

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Suffocating the Space of Capitalism

What the vast majority of Iraqis need at this juncture is autonomy, and like the Palestinians, oxygen to survive, help in what Zapatistas call "suffocating the space of capitalism" (Esteva 2001). In any new beginnings in education, the bottom line should be self-reliance, dignity and sustainability: Iraqi educators will have to lead the way, with their priorities, at their pace. Wary of "imposed imports" and "research projects" from the Anglo-American West, in this

bottom up. Zapatistas are doing this across Chiapas and Oaxaca, even in arrangements for learning, its content and social 'certification.'

Such autonomous, holistic community-rooted education is at the heart of Madhu Suri Prakash & Gustavo Esteva's exciting book, *Escaping Education: Living as Learning Within Grassroots Cultures* (NY: Peter Lang 1998). It's one all anarchists should read. We have to be thinking about alternative landscapes of learning for those who constitute the majority of the people on this planet, what Prakash & Esteva call the Two-Thirds World. We need to be talking about anti-authoritarian approaches to the regeneration of soil cultures, and building resistance to indigenous cultural meltdown in the global classroom. To help people take creative steps in "escaping the certainties of development, progress and education; recovering their own truths" (ibid.: 73).

Especially those of us who teach on those dominated 'peripheries,' to which Iraq has now

critically. And to interrogate the headlong dominion of English. As Canagarajah (1999: 2) reminds us, the resistance perspective opens doors to the possibility that "the powerless in post-colonial communities may find ways to reconstruct their languages, cultures, and identities to their advantage. The intention is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical and democratic terms." Anti-authoritarians should help define what that reconstitution can mean.

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One progressive alternative for us is to join in hands-on solidarity with people's grassroots movements in Iraq as they crystallize. In 'reclaiming the commons,' the principal right for all Iraqis, the kind of education that should be created need not be in the mold of what Western 'developers' deem necessary — as a tool for their own neo-colonial penetration of the society and economy. What is needed is to generate opportunities for practical learning beyond the classroom in changing Iraq from the

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Especially those of us who teach on those dominated 'peripheries,' to which Iraq has now been added. Learning from what Prakash & Esteva term the 'refusenik cultures' and 'grassroots postmodernism,' the 'diversity of liberation in the lived pluriverse' (ibid.: 35-85): "Postmodernism at the grassroots describes an ethos of women and men who are liberating themselves from the oppression of modern economic society. The reign of homo educandus and homo oeconomicus go hand in hand. Liberation from one cannot occur without liberation from the other" (81).

Pedagogies of Rerooting

One prime component in this pedagogy of localization (ibid.: 129-131) is the people's right to their own language, learning to "fashion a voice for themselves from amidst the deafening channels of domination" (Canagarajah 1999: 197). To be multilingual, OK, sure. That's cultural hybridity. A fact of our era and its geopolitics. But to 'conscientize' learners to withstand and oppose the agendas of Empire and McWorld (Freire 1993), learning to 'read the wor(l)d'

critically. And to interrogate the headlong dominion of English. As Canagarajah (1999: 2) reminds us, the resistance perspective 'opens doors to the possibility that "the powerless in post-colonial communities may find ways to reconstruct their languages, cultures, and identities to their advantage. The intention is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical and democratic terms." Anti-authoritarians should help define what that reconstitution can mean.

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An earlier version of this appeared in ZMag, June 2003. The author is based in Vientiane, Lao People's Democratic Republic. Email: bill_templer@yahoo.com

DIY SOLAR SHOWER DESIGN

In Slingshot's continuing series of do-it-yourself (DIY) projects, this issue we present this design for a DIY solar shower

By P. Wingnut

Everyday in developed areas, people generate tons of global warming gasses when they burn fossil fuels to take showers. Personally, I'm not against showering every once-in-a-while. In fact, when I go to action gatherings, etc., I sometimes think we would have an easier time getting out of the activist ghetto and connecting with regular folks if a



few of us showered a bit more often. I grew up with the "shower every morning" ritual. But with increasing evidence that the burning of fossil fuels is the biggest human threat to the environment — the Center for Applied Biodiversity Science just released a study indicating that up to 37 percent of the world's species could go extinct by 2050 because of human-cause climate change — I started questioning my upbringing.

First, I started showering less — every 2 or 3 days is really sufficient even when you do physical work and sweat a lot like I do.

But I still didn't like the thought that my getting clean meant I was connected to a natural gas drilling rig ruining some natural area — and global warming. If you take a 5 minute shower 3 times a week and your shower

Ingredients (get these at any decent hardware store for about \$30)

- 4 1/2 feet 3 inch diameter black ABS pipe
- 2 3 inch 90 degree black ABS pipe fittings with 2 female ends
- 2 3 inch 90 degree fittings with 1 female and 1 male end
- 1 3 inch T fitting with 2 female 3 inch ends and 1 female 2 inch end
- 1 3 inch T fitting with 2 female 3 inch ends and 1 1.5 inch end.
- 1 2 inch male to 2 inch female threaded fitting
- 1 2 inch threaded plug
- 1 1 1/2 inch male to 1/2 inch threaded female fitting
- 1 1/2 inch ball valve with 2 female ends
- 1 1/2 inch male to male threaded fitting
- 1 1/2 inch 45 degree male to female fitting
- 1 un-restricted, high flow shower head (I use a plant watering can attachment — a hose fan spray attachment would also work — a low flow showerhead won't work because it requires high water pressure to work, which this system won't create)

Two bike hooks for your shower stall
Multi-purpose plastic pipe cement

There are fancy ways to use the sun to heat residential water, but they're pretty expensive and unless you own where you live, you probably can't get solar hot water the fancy way. Basically, they involve circulating water through black piping enclosed in an insulated glass-topped box. Sun shines into



the box which acts as a greenhouse and gets super hot, heating up the water flowing through it. You need a circulating pump (which can be run by solar electricity), a huge storage tank to store the heated water until you need it, and a lot of pipe from the panels on the roof to the storage tank. Even if you do it all yourself, you're looking at \$2,000 or more just for materials! I think it would be great to install a lot more of the fancy solar hot water heaters, but until then, you can rig up this do-it-yourself system.

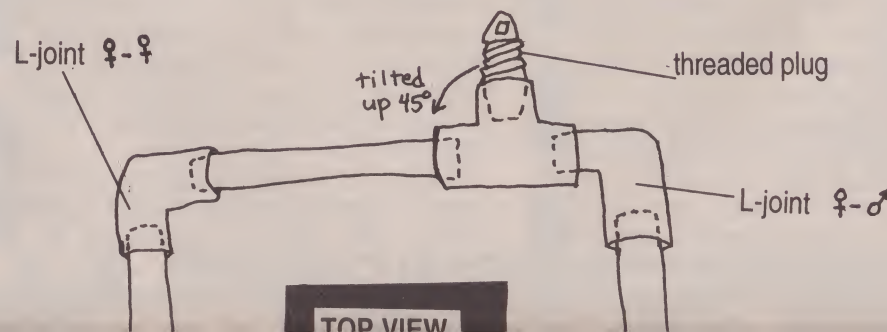
You cut the section of pipe into 2 14 inch sections and 2 12 inch sections and then connect all this stuff together with the plastic pipe cement as show in the diagram. Don't glue any of the threaded joints — the one on top is for filling and the one at the bottom is so you can remove the shower head assembly for cleaning, etc. What you have at the end of the process is a square of black pipe that holds about 2 gallons of water — enough for a 5 minute shower.

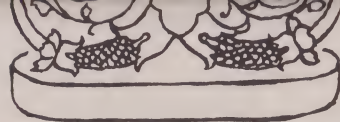
You fill the shower with a garden hose, etc., through the threaded 2 inch hole, and then screw down the threaded plug. Then set it out flat in the sun for 1-2 hours, depending on the air temperature. The black pipe absorbs the sun's energy and the water inside will get super hot! Then, you screw the two bike hooks into your shower stall (or if you like outside showers, onto the side of your house, etc.) so that you can hang the shower on the wall. Put the hooks high enough so that the shower head will be above your head, but not so high that you can't actually hang the shower on the wall. Put one hook in slightly above the other, so the thing will hang a little diagonally, with the shower head at the bottom for full draining, and the filling plug at the top so it won't leak when full.

It will weigh about 20 pounds when full, which might seem heavy at first but you'll get used to it (and build upper body strength!) I suggest sort of sliding the thing up the wall and then over the hooks.

Before you take your shower, you have to loosen the filling plug at the top so air can get into the shower as it drains. Then, get naked, stand under the shower, and turn the ball joint. The water will run out the shower head and make a really nice shower running just on gravity.

You can fill it in the morning and leave it out





few of us showered a bit more often. I grew up with the "shower every morning" ritual. But with increasing evidence that the burning of fossil fuels is the biggest human threat to the environment — the Center for Applied Biodiversity Science just released a study indicating that up to 37 percent of the world's species could go extinct by 2050 because of human-cause climate change — I started questioning my upbringing.

First, I started showering less — every 2 or 3 days is really sufficient even when you do physical work and sweat a lot like I do.

But I still didn't like the thought that my getting clean meant I was connected to a natural gas drilling rig ruining some natural area — and global warming. If you take a 5 minute shower 3 times a week and your shower head puts out a typical 1.6 gallons per minute, you're using 24 gallons of heated water a week, or 1248 gallons a year. When you figure that heating a gallon of water with gas releases 1 ounce of carbon dioxide, and you multiply by the billion or so people who have developed standards of living sufficient to allow them to shower, you can see that our little showers have a big environmental impact.

It turns out, there is an excellent, non-polluting and abundant alternative to fossil fuels for heating water — low tech solar power. You can use solar power to heat your shower if you have 1-2 hours of sun, which means that folks living anywhere can greatly reduce their use of fossil fuels for water heating by switching to solar. Even if you can only use solar in the summertime, it will change your perspective on using energy. For many folks in the southern part of the country, you can use solar hot water most of the year. If millions of people switched, it wouldn't be the revolution, but it would help. In fact, since my vision for the revolution is that we would learn how to live in a more sustainable way, switching to solar is a tiny way to begin living the revolution now, instead of waiting for some far off future event.

1 1/2 inch 45 degree male to female fitting
1 un-restricted, high flow shower head (I use a plant watering can attachment — a hose fan spray attachment would also work — a low flow showerhead won't work because it requires high water pressure to work, which this system won't create)

Two bike hooks for your shower stall
Multi-purpose plastic pipe cement

can be run by solar electricity), a huge storage tank to store the heated water until you need it, and a lot of pipe from the panels on the roof to the storage tank. Even if you do it all yourself, you're looking at \$2,000 or more just for materials! I think it would be great to install a lot more of the fancy solar hot water heaters, but until then, you can rig up this do-it-yourself system.

showers, onto the side of your house, etc.) so that you can hang the shower on the wall. Put the hooks high enough so that the shower head will be above your head, but not so high that you can't actually hang the shower on the wall. Put one hook in slightly above the other, so the thing will hang a little diagonally, with the shower head at the bottom for full draining, and the filling plug at the top so it won't leak when full.

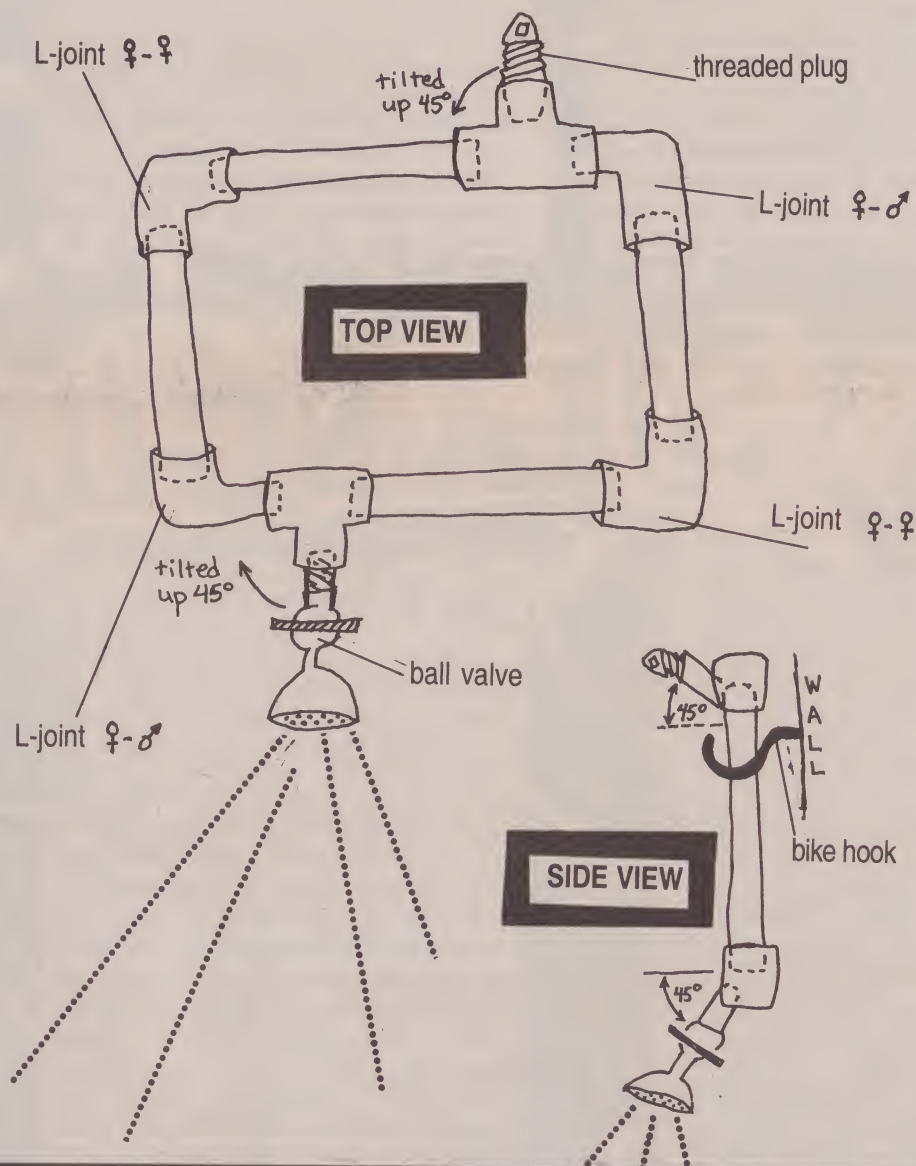
It will weigh about 20 pounds when full, which might seem heavy at first but you'll get used to it (and build upper body strength!) I suggest sort of sliding the thing up the wall and then over the hooks.

Before you take your shower, you have to loosen the filling plug at the top so air can get into the shower as it drains. Then, get naked, stand under the shower, and turn the ball joint. The water will run out the shower head and make a really nice shower running just on gravity.

You can fill it in the morning and leave it out all day for a shower in the afternoon or evening, or if you have a good spot that gets morning sun, you can generally put it out the night before and take a mid-morning shower. If you leave it out all day, the water will get too hot to use, so you'll have to put it in some shade so it can cool down before you use it.

By the way, the shower saves water as well as fossil fuels — about 2 gallons instead of about 8 for a comparable shower. You also save water because most piped in showers require that you run the water while you wait for it to get hot. My shower at home wastes almost as much water waiting for it to get hot as the solar shower uses for the whole shower!

Best of all, having a DIY shower really makes you think about where your shower is coming from, which eventually makes you think about all the energy you use. During the winter when there isn't any sun, I usually still use the DIY shower. I put a 2 gallon pan over the pilot light on our gas stove overnight and by morning, the water is hot. Have fun getting naked.



Solidarity Against Occupation

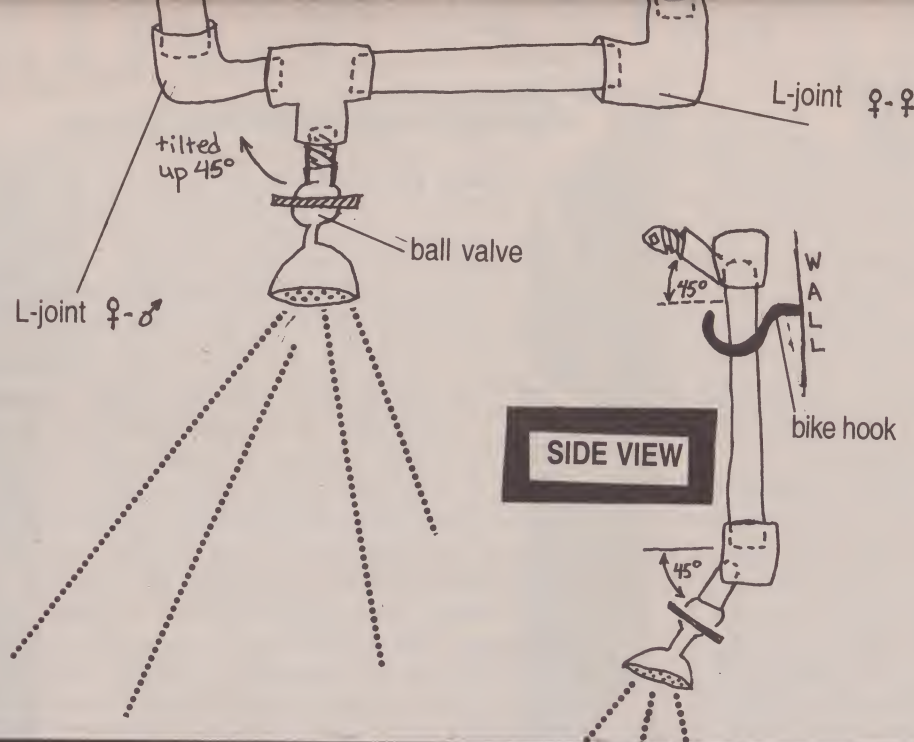
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Solidarity Against Occupation

Continued from page 1

exotic crafts and a few trust-fund kids going on radical vacations to Baghdad. The key is figuring out how to make grass-roots contacts between Iraqi individuals and civil society groups and American activists and organizations.

Bush is trying to shove privatization, corporate globalization, consumerism, fake democracy and social conservatism down Iraq and Afghanistan's throats. The US also hopes it can use both Iraq and Afghanistan as military bases in their respective regions. Most Americans don't know this is happening because there is far too little independent contact between people in the US and people in the nations the US is occupying. At the moment, corporate media outlets and the largest non-governmental organizations are almost the only "independent" eyes in Iraq and

Afghanistan. It is crucial that members of American civil society also find ways to independently monitor — and oppose — what is going on.



Regular Iraqis and Afghanis need to have advocates in the US so that they don't face the American military machine alone. Similarly, American activists opposed to the occupation and the trend towards a global American military empire need contacts with the military's most direct victims so we can figure out what we can do that will be most helpful.

Bush and his ilk are politically vulnerable on

the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan if we keep these occupations in the public's eye. Troops are getting killed and wounded on an almost daily basis, gradually wearing down morale amongst the troops and military families. Troops had their tour of duty in Iraq extended, and many reservists have faced extreme disruption to their private lives, jobs and businesses as the Iraqi insurgents have forced Bush to maintain over 100,000 troops

in Iraq. When Bush requested \$87 billion in additional occupation spending, it was clear most Americans were unhappy about shouldering such a heavy financial burden and felt the money should be used to meet domestic human needs.

And for what? The war appears to have been pointless. Iraq was not an imminent threat to US security, nor related to September 11.

Despite spending hundreds of millions of dollars searching, US troops have been unable to find any weapons of mass destruction. The rush to war was based on a calculated intelligence manipulation and falsification.

If we let the US get away with these occupations with no opposition, their hands will be even freer to start their next war and expand US military colonization abroad. We need to go beyond demanding "Troops Out Now" — because that is a demand the US government already wants to accomplish for its own reasons, so it can use the troops elsewhere. Instead, let's figure out how to join with our Iraqi and Afghan brothers and sisters and people around the world to block the United States' military ambitions.



Página en Español

Muchas gracias a todos quienes nos ayudaron con esta página.

Dando pecho en las barricadas

Por Rahula
Traducido por redQ y la Mahtin

Cuando yo estaba sentada en el NICU (Centro de Vigilancia Intensiva Neonatal) en el hospital y di el pecho a mi hija por primera vez, yo supe en una manera visceral que mi vida se cambió para siempre. Lo sentí en mis huesos (no mencionar el útero y los pezones).

En hablar del tema de ser madre/padre, mucho ya es cliché. Y tantos de los clichés son la verdad. Yo nunca he sido tan enamorada con, ni cometida a nadie como estoy a mi hija. Tampoco yo nunca he sido tan cansada como estaba en los primeros tres meses de su vida. Ser su madre me ha hecho mirar el mundo de una manera completamente nueva.

Mis padres pensaban que podrían cambiar el mundo por cambiar su manera de vivir, y así que ell@s se retiraron y "regresa a la tierra" (o sea, regresaron a la tierra a vivir la vida sostenible—en ingles la expresion es "back to the land"). Yo pensé que para cambiar el mundo, hay que enfrentar y intervenir directamente, y así que dejé la tierra y "regresé a la ciudad." Aca es donde me quedo, y espero que el mundo está cambiando, pero es difícil saber seguramente cuánto cambia y/o si el cambio mejorará el mundo.

Todavía yo opino que el mundo necesita la confrontación y la intervención para ser cambiada, pero además se necesita un cambio de la manera de vivir — y que como criar a nuestr@s hij@s está incluido en ese cambio. Sigo pensando que nosotr@s, l@s padres podemos cambiar el mundo. Sigo pensando en que una cultura capitalista blanca-

ser padre/s influye esa misma sociedad.

La cultura occidental, y la cultura dominante de los Estados Unidos en particular, adora la individualidad y la autogestión al punto tan extremo que esperamos que nuestr@s niñ@s sean autosuficientes antes que aprender a



hablar. El método del corriente principal, o el método convencional a cuidar, valen la

manera de hacerl@s fuertes, ell@s llegan a ser adult@s irrespetuos@s, crueles e indiferentes. Tengo la convicción de que si la compasión fuera valuada en los métodos de los padres, gradualmente llegaría a ser más valuado en la sociedad.

Siempre he amado el concepto de construir el nuevo mundo al mismo tiempo que destruimos al mundo viejo. Crear mientras destruimos, formar mientras derrocamos. Esto ha formado mi concepto de criar radicalmente. Por una parte, necesito seguir a enfrentar el mundo dominante y malo, y agregar mi energía y mi fuerza a la lucha para derrocar el capitalismo, la supremacía blanca, el patriarqua, y el estado. Por otro lado, yo quiero criar a mi niña como si el mundo que deseo ya existiera. Me gustaría criar a una niña quien rechaza y lucha contra los sistemas de dominación y opresión, pero a la vez puede funcionar en el mundo. Quiero ser una madre excelente.



cómo criar a una chica asignada con autoestima fuerte y quien puede sobrevivir y tener éxito en una cultura patriarcal. También significa que tengo que modelar selecciones y conducta con principios. Significa hacer investigación y pensar críticamente en cómo ser madre y escoger los instrumentos y técnicas que son correctos para nosotr@s. Significa reconocer que la necesidad para el amor es tan importante como la necesidad para el alimento. ¿Puede significa más?

Tengo esperanzas grandes, pero expectativas realísticas. ¡Quizas mi hija sea o no sea una revolucionaria, pero soy determinada a prepararla con la capacidad!

La utopía anarquista será determinada por las personas que la componen. Creo que incluirá el respeto y la reverencia para todas las personas y criaturas. Pondrá su énfasis en la interdependencia y el colectivismo sobre el individualismo severo. El respeto para la autonomía no ganará sobre el apoyo mutuo y la libertad de asociación. En la utopía anarquista que yo deseo, tod@s esperarán que todas las necesidades sean acomodadas, y gritarán como el infierno cuando no son satisfechas. En la utopía anarquista, la gente será apacible con la otra gente a pesar de la edad—o cualquier otro factor.

El construir el nuevo mundo en la cáscara del viejo implica que tenemos que vivir como la utopía anarquista ya estuviera aca, y incorporar los valores, sistemas, y métodos del

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Me vacilo a hablar de cómo nuestras estrategias de criar a los hijos afectan nuestro mundo, porque la idea que nuestr@s problemas provienen de nuestro método de criar a los niños puede colocar la culpa de todos los problemas en los hombros de los padres que ya son sobrecargados. Pero los psicólogos y otros "expertos" que utilizan su posición como "expertos" a presionar l@s padres en métodos desnaturalizados y separados de ser padres. Pero tanto de quienes somos como seres humanos puede ser rastreado a nuestras experiencias infantiles—entonces vale la pena de considerar que como una sociedad piensa en el trabajo de



hablar. El método del corriente principal, o el método convencional a cuidar, valua la independencia sobre el apoyo, la compasión, y la interdependencia.

Como padres, estamos advertid@s interminablemente a no servir a las necesidades de nuestros bebés porque quizás siempre esperarán que sus necesidades serán satisfechas. Por responder a las necesidades de nuestros niños como si fueren necesidades frívolas, les enseñamos una incapacidad a distinguir entre las necesidades y los deseos, y perdimos la habilidad de distinguir la diferencia nosotr@s mism@s. La filosofía convencional de criar dice que el deseo de bebe a ser abrazad@ y aliviad@ es manipulativo, mientras un método compasivo dice que es una necesidad válida. Nuestr@s, niñ@s aprenden cómo relacionar al mundo por la manera que l@s tratamos, y cuando somos irrespetuos@s, desdeños@s, crueles e indiferentes a nuestr@s niñ@s como una

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El método de cuidar excelente parece distinto a las personas distintas. A mí el método es poner el bienestar de mi hija en frente de mis propias conveniencias. Significa que yo no pongo la culpa en ella cuando es difícil ser madre. Significa que tengo que cuidarme a mí misma. Más concretamente, significa que la sigo tratando con respeto, apoyando sus esfuerzos a autodeterminarse, y asegurando su seguridad. Significa que tengo que aprender

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El construir el nuevo mundo en la cáscara del viejo implica que tenemos que vivir como la utopía anarquista ya estuviera aca, y incorporar los valores, sistemas, y métodos del mundo ideal tan como es posible en el mundo actual. Por eso yo vivo colectivamente, y utilizo el proceso colectivo a hacer decisiones cuando puedo. Sigo explorando como aplicar este método en ser madre en maneras que son excelente.

No voy a decir que el acercarse al tema de criar a los niños de este manera va a generar una revolución, pero es uno de los componentes necesarios para el cambio social radical. Quién es mejor para empezar este enfoque que la comunidad anarquista/radical (definida ampliamente)? Vale la pena a hacerlo porque el proceso de explorar estas ideas desafía y profundiza mi análisis y compromiso política constantemente. Y vale la pena porque es una manera buena de criar a un(a) niñ@, y también vale la pena ser buena madre/buen padre.

Gracias a los padres radicales y a los aliados a los padres quienes han ofrecido su aviso, sugerencias, y apoyo. Se puede escribir a Rahula Janowski en anarchakitty@riseup.net.

PolyGAMIA

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PolyGAMIA

por molly coddle
traducido por Aris y Ximena y la Mahtin

Alguna vez pensé que la polygamia era un acto radical, pero cuando finalmente el año pasado me convertí en polygama y me di cuenta que no siempre es una opción. Yo duro aproximadamente un mes en una relación monógama. Para mí esta relación es ahogante-opresora. Entonces he comenzado a considerar la polygamia, pues es otra preferencia sexual que no es muy común, considerarla como otra preferencia radical o urgencia natural. Esto también me ha ayudado a darme cuenta de que la mongamia funciona bien para alguna gente, como la polygamia funciona para mí.

Ha sido un poco difícil, decirles a mis amigos uno por uno que soy polígamo y encontrar una comunidad que apoye y que entienda pero vale la pena. Estoy creando mi propia ética para la intimidad, pues yo no creo en alargar la relación monógama para muchas parejas, es suficiente...Mis influencias han sido el anarquismo, el budhismo, y la sabiduría de la

comunidad. Principalmente estoy trabajando en salir a flote con lo físico y lo emocional practicando la comunicación abierta además de ver a el amor como un intercambio de regalos.

Mi visión de como funciona la polygamia es llegar a ser mi propia pareja principal así como me deshago de los restos o sobrantes que aún quedan de la moral que rodea la monogamia. Pues tener una relación primaria parece cada vez menos necesaria. Cuando más entiendo lo completa que soy, puedo venerar la intimidad sin pensar en ella como cosa principal y ser honesta con mis parejas en vez de pedir permiso.

La necesidad de ser fiel está cambiando pues cada vez dependo menos de la aprobación de otros, para ser yo misma. Yo sería tan feliz si mi mejor amiga(o) encuentra una nueva pareja como si una pareja mía tiene nuevos placeres. La infidelidad no es acerca de sexo, si no más bien acerca de deshonestidad emocional y

las promesas rotas. Si uno de mis amantes no usara protección al tener sexo, rompiera un compromiso para ir a hacer sexo con otro o mentiera acerca de que clase de intimidad quisiera me dolería lo suficiente como para enfrentar el problema. De cualquier manera todos tienen diferentes puntos de vista que solo podríamos saberlos si hablamos de ellos.

La parte más dura de ser polígama es la cantidad de tiempo que esto lleva, pues yo podría pasar los próximos 50 años bailando, dándonos caricias uno a otro, hablando, haciendo el amor y no hacer ni un minuto de

trabajo para la justicia social. Pero eso sería una vida menos productiva. El saber que mi amor es infinito a causara las mayores limitaciones para mis relaciones de pareja... pues si tan solo los orgasmos pudieran sacar al gobierno.

Creo firmemente en las relaciones sin obligaciones. El amor es un intercambio de regalos y para que la intimidad sea sana, debo dar y recibir. Mientras que yo no puede saber que el placer vendrá lo espero, así como el dolor también. La madurez usualmente proviene de la incomodidad.

Así como cada vez me alejo más de la monogamia, y me acerco más a mis propias definiciones de la intimidad, me da más gusto. Sé que estaré agradecida de mis amantes y otras veces me retiraré a mi propia satisfacción. De cualquier manera sabré que soy querida.



the radical foment in venezuela -- cont,d

Continued from page 3

to transcend the contradiction between self-governance and the state." If anti-authoritarian organizing permeated Venezuela, would people reinvent the state, or end it?

For the present, regardless of the tenacity of the state, people are making powerful, radical, meaningful changes in their lives and communities.

"It isn't just about tens of thousands of people in the street, or even the constitutional changes that empower people," observed solidarity activist Diana Valentine in January 2003. "In everyday encounters there's this spirit of change--after greeting each other in the street people will immediately start talking about the projects they're organizing, studying they constitution, establishing cooperatives."

"What is new is not so much what the government is doing, but what is happening outside it," says Arlene Espinal, a social worker and resident of a poor Caracas neighborhood. "There's been a powerful reawakening in the barrios."

Because the movement and the state are closely related, it is somewhat difficult to determine what would happen if the state changes direction. If a new regime changes the constitution yet again, how will the million people inspired by it on a daily basis react?

"The opposition might be able to slow the reforms and make people suffer--but stopping the revolutionary aspects of the process, the people's self-organization and empowerment, they will find more difficult," writes Reed Lindsay.

I would like to give people credit: that they are inspired and will continue to fight.

Who is Chavez?

government, which does not assume clearly defined positions. Finally, there is opposition of the oligarchy and of the middle-classes who are ideologically controlled by the former."

"The presidential leftist rhetoric is often combined with a favorable policy towards financial and profiteer sectors, suggesting the configuration of a new hegemonic bloc behind the "Bolivarian" regime," says Francisco Sobrino, editor of the Argentinean journal Herramiento, who accuses Chavez of having a "fickle" relationship with the Venezuelan masses.

the radical minister whom Chavez fired after 10 months, thinks differently: "I do not believe that the ambiguity of the Chavez Government has to do with fear of intervention. Rather, it is a consequence of a lack of clarity, debates, and confidence in the capacity of the self-governance of the people. The inhabitants of the barrios unconditionally supported the government during the coups, risking their lives. But the state hardly reaches out to the barrios. There is a closed, almost fort-like conception of power."

As the Venezuelan anarchists are happy to

US is funding the right-wing opposition to Chavez.

On Chavez's home front, poor Venezuelans, who despite the government's community organizing have not seen their bottom-line economic situation improve significantly, are getting angry and impatient for concrete change.

And it seems that Chavez is actively eliminating any dissenting views within his government, dismissing ministers more radical than his moderate position.

All this will likely come to a head this March with a mid-term recall election. Up for recall is Chavez himself, 34 Chavista politicians, and 38 opposition politicians, many of whom are former Chavez supporters. Chavez's support is strongly based with the increasingly-frustrated poor. Will he survive between the rock of angry people and the hard place of US imperial ambitions? Now is certainly the time for Chavez to bite the bullet and align his policies with his radical rhetoric. It's not like the middle classes, constantly inflamed by "anti-communist" messages from the right-wing media, are going to be swayed by his timid economic reforms.

Chavez's strength is the poor, and the poor's strength is themselves. International anti-authoritarians should stand with the people in Venezuela as they use Chavez as a tool to create revolutionary change. The Chavez government opens up space for powerful, concrete, unprecedented change in the lives of millions of previously unempowered poor people. Radical organizing is radical organizing, regardless of whether it happens under the guise of the state or under the boot.

"To claim that power will dissolve itself is as ludicrous as to claim that History is a mechanical sum of events that will bring us unerringly to freedom and social justice."

His analysis: "Nowadays the neoliberal tide is ebbing in the region, but it is not immediately replaced by a truly popular or revolutionary large wave. New heterogeneous regimes may then emerge filling the power vacuum, as a reflection of or reaction to those deep developing social trends. Chavism is just one of these cases."

Chavistas want to make the state efficient, not sell it off to foreign interests, as

point out, this is hardly surprising. "To claim that power will dissolve itself is as ludicrous as to claim that History is a mechanical sum of events that will bring us unerringly to freedom and social justice. These will only be conquered by keeping with the anti-capitalist struggle without abandoning, even for a second, our critical spirit and inquisitiveness."

Revolution or regime change?

Sadly, Chavez's position is growing more

governance and the state. If anti-authoritarian organizing permeated Venezuela, would people reinvent the state, or end it?

For the present, regardless of the tenacity of the state, people are making powerful, radical, meaningful changes in their lives and communities.

"It isn't just about tens of thousands of people in the street, or even the constitutional changes that empower people," observed solidarity activist Diana Valentine in January 2003. "In everyday encounters there's this spirit of change--after greeting each other in the street people will immediately start talking about the projects they're organizing, studying they constitution, establishing cooperatives."

"What is new is not so much what the government is doing, but what is happening outside it," says Arlene Espinal, a social worker and resident of a poor Caracas neighborhood. "There's been a powerful reawakening in the barrios."

Because the movement and the state are closely related, it is somewhat difficult to determine what would happen if the state changes direction. If a new regime changes the constitution yet again, how will the million people inspired by it on a daily basis react?

"The opposition might be able to slow the reforms and make people suffer--but stopping the revolutionary aspects of the process, the people's self-organization and empowerment, they will find more difficult," writes Reed Lindsay.

I would like to give people credit: that they are inspired and will continue to fight.

Who is Chavez?

Predictably, Hugo Chavez is more of a mixed bag than let on by ogling international leftists.

Despite his inspirational radical rhetoric, many of his specific economic reforms are more moderate. The laws governing land reform, oil, banking, and fisheries all impose modest limits and regulations much like what exists in other capitalist countries, especially in Europe.

"Here there are three worlds," summarizes ex-Chavez minister Roland Denis. "There is a revolutionary process that is not just represented by the government, but by popular movements. Then there is the

defined positions. Finally, there is opposition of the oligarchy and of the middle-classes who are ideologically controlled by the former."

"The presidential leftist rhetoric is often combined with a favorable policy towards financial and profiteer sectors, suggesting the configuration of a new hegemonic bloc behind the "Bolivarian" regime," says Francisco Sobrino, editor of the Argentinean journal Herramiento, who accuses Chavez of having a "fickle" relationship with the Venezuelan masses.

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Chavistas want to make the state efficient, not sell it off to foreign interests as suggested by the World Bank, but neither turning it over to collectives and popular control.

"There's a strong streak of authoritarianism in Chavismo. For all its talk of participation, there's been a centralization of power in the hands of the president," says Carlos Correa, of the human rights group Provea.

Some attribute his moderate reforms to an attempt to walk a moderate tightrope between the people's demands and the looming hand of the United States. But Roland Denis,

10 months, thinks differently: "I do not believe that the ambiguity of the Chavez Government has to do with fear of intervention. Rather, it is a consequence of a lack of clarity, debates, and confidence in the capacity of the self-governance of the people. The inhabitants of the barrios unconditionally supported the government during the coups, risking their lives. But the state hardly reaches out to the barrios. There is a closed, almost fort-like conception of power."

As the Venezuelan anarchists are happy to

point out, this is hardly surprising. "To claim that power will dissolve itself is as ludicrous as to claim that History is a mechanical sum of events that will bring us unerringly to freedom and social justice. These will only be conquered by keeping with the anti-capitalist struggle without abandoning, even for a second, our critical spirit and inquisitiveness."

Revolution or regime change?

Sadly, Chavez's position is growing more tenuous, as both external and internal forces converge against his leadership.

Chavez and Brazilian President Lula de Silva are the two strongest South American leaders who oppose the US proposal for a NAFTA-modeled Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA). While Lula's opposition is based on market concerns (the US refuses to open it markets to key Brazilian imports), Chavez's concerns with the FTAA are moral and based on his commitment to social equality. In this sense, he is a stronger anti-globalization ally than Lula. In reaction to his strong stance, the

Chavez.

On Chavez's home front, poor Venezuelans, who despite the government's community organizing have not seen their bottom-line economic situation improve significantly, are getting angry and impatient for concrete change.

And it seems that Chavez is actively eliminating any dissenting views within his government, dismissing ministers more radical than his moderate position.

All this will likely come to a head this March with a mid-term recall election. Up for recall is Chavez himself, 34 Chavista politicians, and 38 opposition politicians, many of whom are former Chavez supporters. Chavez's support is strongly based with the increasingly-frustrated poor. Will he survive between the rock of angry people and the hard place of US imperial ambitions? Now is certainly the time for Chavez to bite the bullet and align his policies with his radical rhetoric. It's not like the middle classes, constantly inflamed by "anti-communist" messages from the right-wing media, are going to be swayed by his timid economic reforms.

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Contact El Libertario, the Venezuelan anarchist collective, via Emilio Tesoro, apartado postal 6303, Carmelitas, Venezuela. or elibertario@nodo50.org.

Sources:

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Reed Lindsay, Venezuela's slum army takes over. The Observer, 8/10/03

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Zelik, Raul. Venezuela and the Popular Movement, an interview with Roland Denis. Z Magazine 8/03

another fucked UP rAdical X-word

Across

1 Talk is cheap, but this is priceless

2 Action taken by the Millennium Falcon, or a person confronted with his sexism or racism

5 The cool people's e-mail

6 That thing in your arm (abbr.)

7 Massachusetts event, or an afternoon social occasion we ought to do more often

8 Existential question letters

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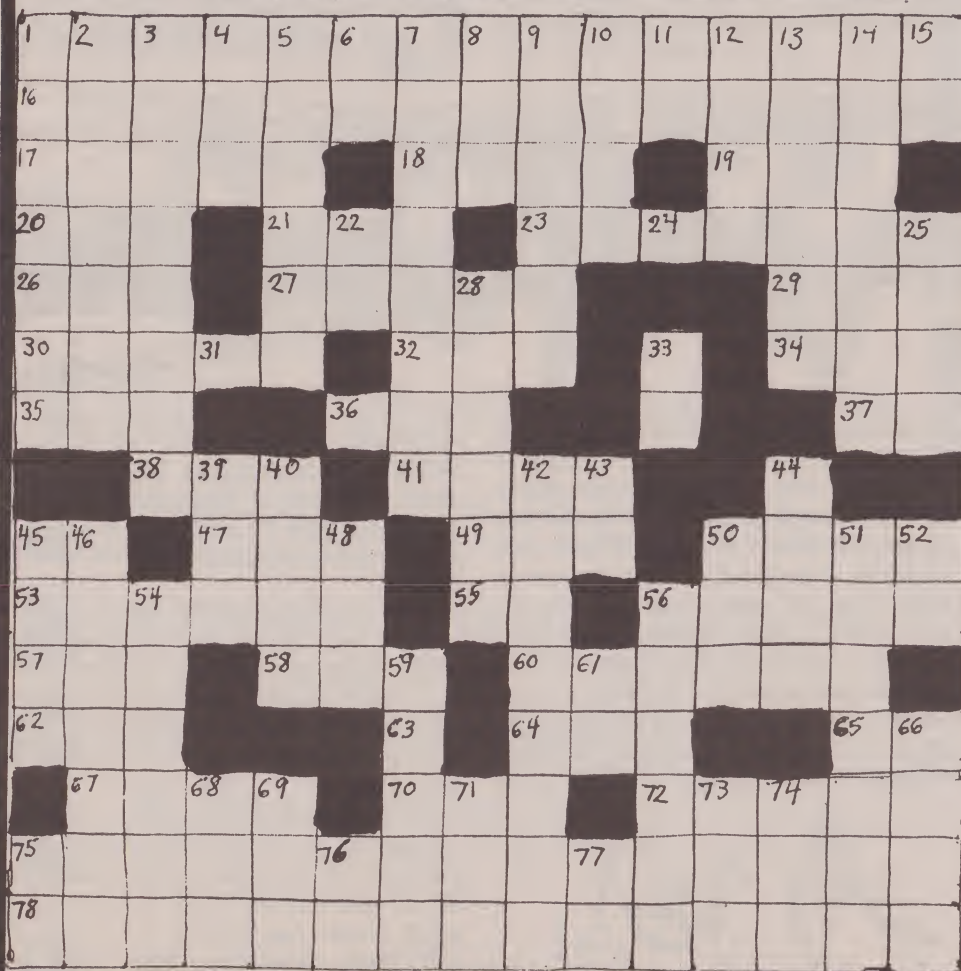
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another fucked UP radical X-word



Across

- 1 Talk is cheap, but this is priceless
- 2 Action taken by the Millennium Falcon, or a person confronted with his sexism or racism
- 17 Places a place under electronic surveillance
- 18 _____ a word because it _____ in the dictionary
- 19 Real life chaos? Republican Library cards? Right left coalition?
- 20 Bobby Avakian's brethren
- 21 Power to detect unspoken resentments while facilitating or spot infiltrators
- 23 Opportunity for children to study regimental social dynamics
- 26 Consumed
- 27 Organization of CIA manipulation disguised as foreign assistance
- 29 Sound of beings mercilessly afflicted by bovine growth hormone
- 30 Costume, or Bob Marley's exhortation
- 32 Substance hijacked by retroviruses
- 34 Anally produced compost
- 35 It's a conspiracy and they're after us! Why can't you _____?
- 36 They do crackdown on machine guns, but what do they have to do with cigarettes?
- 37 Generating state of Bob Dylan and Walter Mondale
- 38 Blondie singer, for short
- 41 Talk on and on (var.)
- 44 _____ is for liberal
- 45 Anti-authoritarian prefix
- 47 Patty Hearst's interesting friends
- 49 Person supposed to stop a drug sale, or to purchase drugs
- 50 A desert where there isn't currently a war as far as I know
- 53 Property that tightens axle nuts
- 55 Graceland is there
- 56 Sell out. Spoil. Devolve
- 57 The very source of all metal. They dump cyanide all over to get it.
- 58 Public document downplaying ecological destruction (abbr.)
- 60 What Indybay and SF Indymedia did
- 62 Corporate music or soft drink
- 63 Just like 45 across except followed by a consonant
- 64 The German one
- 65 Ancient fascist 150
- 67 Old British youth culture with very thin neckties
- 70 It's currently banned in the USA, but with the WTO, who knows what the future holds?
- 72 Kinda like sorta dressed in black and withdrawn
- 75 The reason all our freedoms are being eliminated
- 78 Oakland collective house made famous by the Eagles

Down

- 1 Make clothes out of scraps
- 2 Newly homeless person
- 3 What they did to countries before "precision" bombing
- 4 Take advantage of

- 5 The cool people's e-mail
- 6 That thing in your arm (abbr.)
- 7 Massachusetts event, or an afternoon social occasion we ought to do more often
- 8 Existential question letters
- 9 It's a lot like this country, but not at war with Iraq
- 10 Very atypical of 55 across
- 11 "Freedom" pronoun
- 12 Territory
- 13 The synthetic way to skin cancer
- 14 That place with the ping-pong table in our reeducation camp
- 15 Place where you lie about your name if you're uninsured (abbr.)
- 22 Nazi murder agency
- 24 You can go left, right or turn around here, but you can't go straight!
- 25 69 down's partner, or your ass
- 28 Arch-enemy of Nestle and GE
- 31 Place of "higher" "learning"
- 33 What I have to say to you if U don't like this puzzle (colloq. abbr.)
- 36 63 across already
- 39 Suffix of the person who gets you off in dire circumstances
- 40 Depressed.
- 42 Substance at parties
- 43 Military equivalent of shitwork
- 44 Piece of your brain
- 45 Position associated with dominance, by those who don't really understand dominance
- 46 Not a good looking or graceful guy
- 48 First three vowels
- 50 When I drove on the freeway, I was notified that she was coming, and boy is she pissed
- 51 Rather distasteful effect of gentrification
- 52 Regardless of the law in your state, you're likely to go to jail without it
- 54 Sound of a shot fired
- 56 Ready for whatever comes up in the protest
- 59 I thought this was the word for like, the spokes of a bike wheel, but I think it ends in l
- 61 241 in base 16
- 66 Someone who really knew a swan (var.)
- 68 Hip-hop doctor
- 69 That great big H-bomb in the sky
- 71 Way to get excess information very, very fast
- 73 This should be a word. It's probably someone's last name. It's pronounced like 57 across. There's a double consonant
- 74 If you count your fingers, this is where you stop
- 75 Suffix with six or seven. Or many other numbers
- 76 Is Coke or Pepsi really a choice? Don't worry, these radicals provide a third option.
- 77 Truly free. Total failure. Three figs.

solution next issue

by I Steve

Sea Turtles Resurface

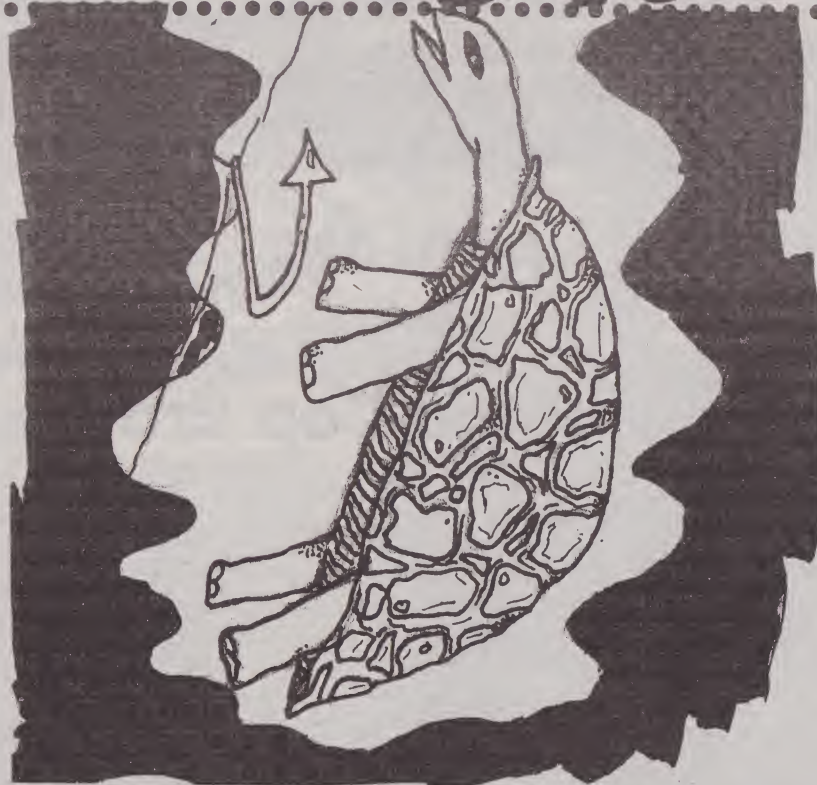
By Dr. Robert Ovetz

Chanting "Get on the right track — stop killing the leatherback!," a festive protest of people of many ages dressed in colorful turtle costumes wound its way along the busy streets of San Francisco's Fishermen's Wharf. The action this past October marked the launching of the Bay Area-based Sea Turtle Restoration Project's (STRP) Save the Leatherback campaign for a moratorium on longline fishing in the Pacific Ocean. Longline fishing in the Pacific kills tens of thousands of sea turtles annually to serve up swordfish, shark and tuna poisoned with high levels of methylmercury for lucrative seafood markets in Japan, the US and Europe.

Longlines are the greatest threat to sea turtles, maiming and killing as many as 40,000 each year. Having once swum with the dinosaurs, the more than 100 million year old leatherback now hangs by a thread at the threshold of extinction. The campaign to save it is at the heart of a concerted international effort to end the pillaging of the oceans and needless slaughter of millions of marine species by industrial fishing, while also sounding the alarm about the threat of methylmercury poisoning to people who eat swordfish and other predatory fish.

The Ancient Leatherback

The leatherback sea turtle is the dean of the seven species of sea turtles. Weighing up to 2000 pounds and reaching as much as nine feet in length, the leatherback has a unique external anatomy characterized by a leathery shell composed of skin overlying a mosaic of thin bony plates. The Pacific leatherback takes up to 15 years to mature and returns to the same beach where it hatched. To get there, a single leatherback follows a complex migration route stretching thousands of miles each year back and forth across the entire Pacific Ocean.



extensive international media coverage and public attention in the past few years. Fear of methylmercury poisoning in seafood led to the collapse of the seafood market in Hong Kong in November 2003. Paradoxically, the Japanese government has issued public health warnings about mercury in whale and dolphin meat even while it encourages the hunting of these two species for meat. Thanks to coal burning power plants, the largest emitters of mercury into the atmosphere that is transformed into methylmercury in the ocean, methylmercury continues to rapidly accumulate up the marine food chain right onto our plates.

Predatory fish accumulate methylmercury levels considered unsafe for consumption even

West Coast Seafood Show in Long Beach, California, STRP activists successfully evaded extensive efforts to censor protest. Over the course of the weekend, activists confronted swordfish dealers inside the seafood show who had refused requests to drop the fish from their inventories, hung door hangers reading "Do Not Disturb the Oceans" throughout the five largest hotels where conference and seafood show guests were staying and unfurled a massive banner reading "Swordfishing Kills Sea Turtles" at both the start of the Long Beach Marathon and the exclusive sea food show opening night gala on the Queen Mary cruise ship.

methods. In total, 20 to 40 percent of the longline catch is thrown back as so-called "bycatch," marine life with little or no commercial value. Bycatch rates are even higher for shrimp trawling, reaching as much as twenty times the shrimp caught, including an estimated 150,000 sea turtles in the tropics alone.

Bycatch is also a huge problem for fishers targeting other commercial fish. For example, nearly one half of the swordfish catch is bycatch from tuna fishing and often allowed to be brought to shore.

Bycatch and greed have left swordfish stocks teetering back and forth on the precipice of collapse for the past two decades. The average fish size of more than 300 pounds only a few decades ago (up to 1000 pounds!) have been eclipsed by catches of pre-reproductive juveniles, commonly weighing less than 90 pounds.

The problems plaguing the swordfish population are a microcosm of the larger ecosystemic collapse underway. A study published in "Nature" in September 2003 found that about 90% of our fisheries are close to or already over depleted. It was followed by a November "Science" article warning that fish stocks face extinction within the next 4 decades.

Refuting industry claims that some fisheries are on the rebound, another "Nature" study in the same year pointed out that an industrial fishery can "typically reduce community biomass by 80% in 15 years of exploitation." The authors estimated that "large predatory fish biomass is only about 10% of pre-industrial levels." These historical trends are revealing. "Rebounds" trumpeted by the fishing industry are in actuality a game that the Ocean Conservancy calls "shifting

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Because leatherbacks feed on jellyfish near the surface, they are extremely vulnerable to both swordfish and tuna longlining, both of which are conducted in relatively shallow pelagic (i.e. high seas) water. The rapid explosion of longlines since the 1970s has devastated the leatherback. Estimates of nesting females illuminate a terrifying collapse in the leatherback population — 95% in the last two decades. This nose-dive has aroused widespread international support for immediate action to stop the extinction crisis.

Reversing the Decline

STRP's Save the Leatherback campaign is undertaking a broad array of initiatives including taking direct action, pursuing strategic legal action, advocating for a UN moratorium on Pacific longlining, educating seafood consumers about the impact of mercury poisoning, and undertaking media and advertising campaigns. STRP achieved its first significant victory when the Red Lobster chain dropped swordfish from the menus of its

approximately 500 restaurants in response to a year-long petition drive. We are using this momentum to pressure other high-profile swordfish sellers through the threat of a lawsuit against the Safeway, Kroger's,



extensive international media coverage and public attention in the past few years. Fear of methylmercury poisoning in seafood led to the collapse of the seafood market in Hong Kong in November 2003. Paradoxically, the Japanese government has issued public health warnings about mercury in whale and dolphin meat even while it encourages the hunting of these two species for meat. Thanks to coal burning power plants, the largest emitters of mercury into the atmosphere that is transformed into methylmercury in the ocean, methylmercury continues to rapidly accumulate up the marine food chain right onto our plates.

Predatory fish accumulate methylmercury levels considered unsafe for consumption even by US government standards. Swordfish contains mercury levels that are 500 percent higher, on the average, than levels considered safe by the US Environmental Protection Agency. Not surprisingly, because the EPA's allowable concentration of methylmercury is five times lower than that allowed by the FDA, powerful industry lobbyist organizations such as the National Fisheries Institute are pushing a standardization of health regulations in line with the more lenient FDA mercury toxicity levels.

The continued marketing of methylmercury tainted seafood raises deeper issues of corporate influence over government public health regulations as well as emissions from coal burning power plants and automobiles, the two largest sources of methylmercury. As documented by a "Now with Bill Moyers" investigation on PBS in August 2003, industry lobbyists such as the US Tuna Foundation have watered down inspections and talked the FDA into removing tuna from their warning that states, "swordfish, shark, king mackerel and tilefish (also known as golden snapper) contain enough mercury to affect the central nervous system and harm developing fetuses. Pregnant and nursing women, women who might become pregnant and young children should not eat

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NFI was chosen as a campaign target for its role as an official advisor to the US Trade Representative. The industry lobbying group is pushing for a disastrous expansion of WTO authority over the oceans. It is also using its political clout to subvert eco-labeling, promote longlining and oppose a planned "country of origin labeling" law. NFI's shameless promotion of cheap imported aquaculture drove US shrimper organizations to quit NFI in protest in October 2003 to pursue a trade embargo.

The longline industry has a lot to fear from the campaign. A 1999 lawsuit filed by STRP and Earthjustice closed two million square miles of territorial waters around Hawaii to Hawaiian swordfish longliners. The US district court judge found that the National Marine Fisheries Service was not doing enough to enforce protections for sea turtles dying on the longlines. When about three dozen Hawaiian longliners relocated to California waters to exploit a loophole in the ruling, the two organizations responded with another lawsuit seeking an injunction to stop longlining once and for all. Legislation is pending in California to ban all longlining.

Saving our oceans from senseless destruction is increasingly gaining steam among as wide a field as the Pew Oceans

precipice of collapse for the past two decades. The average fish size of more than 300 pounds only a few decades ago (up to 1000 pounds!) have been eclipsed by catches of pre-reproductive juveniles, commonly weighing less than 90 pounds.

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Shifting baselines cannot detract from the impact such a collapse will have on the estimated 1 billion people that rely on primarily small scale fishing for their subsistence livelihoods and protein source. In Chile and the Philippines, for example, subsistence fishers are being pushed out by the privatization of their fisheries as a means to repay international debts. Local access rights are being sold to subsidized foreign industrial fishing vessels exporting to lucrative US, EU and Japanese consumer markets. These industrial fish factories move onto greener waters when they've collapsed a fishery, leaving local populations without income and access to affordable local seafood. At the same time, fishers in the consuming countries are being driven out of business in droves by "cheap" imported fish with huge hidden environmental and social costs.

The international character of the ocean crisis caused by industrial fishing requires international action. In many cases, local solutions are not forthcoming because fisheries management agencies encourage privatization, industrial fishing, and industry

which are conducted in relatively shallow pelagic (i.e. high seas) water. The rapid explosion of longlines since the 1970s has devastated the leatherback. Estimates of nesting females illuminate a terrifying collapse in the leatherback population — 95% in the last two decades. This nose-dive has aroused widespread international support for immediate action to stop the extinction crisis.

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approximately 500 restaurants in response to a year-long petition drive. We are using this momentum to pressure other high-profile swordfish sellers through the threat of a lawsuit against the Safeway, Kroger's, Albertson's and Whole Foods supermarket conglomerates.

STRP teamed up with the San Francisco-based As You Sow Foundation in November, 2002, to conduct laboratory tests of swordfish sold in the five major supermarket chains. When the results turned up alarming mercury levels — as much as twice the level recommended by the US Food and Drug Administration — STRP filed a notice of intent to sue the supermarkets and Red Lobster under California's Proposition 65, a 1986 "right to know" law which includes a clause requiring the posting of public warnings about toxins in food.

With this evidence in hand, the California Attorney General's office filed the lawsuit itself in February 2003. To settle the suit, an interim legal agreement between the parties stipulates that stores will post signs warning of the dangers of consuming seafood containing methylmercury, especially swordfish, shark, tuna, king mackerel and tilefish.

The presence of methylmercury in predatory seafood species has garnered

Agency. Not surprisingly, because the EPA's allowable concentration of methylmercury is five times lower than that allowed by the FDA, powerful industry lobbyist organizations such as the National Fisheries Institute are pushing a standardization of health regulations in line with the more lenient FDA mercury toxicity levels.

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STRP's emphasis on bringing together the health and environmental impacts of top predatory fish breaks new ground. It brings together new allies working on pollution, nutrition, public health, ocean, animal, fishing and reproductive campaigns to address issues that may have once seemed separate and unconnected. The emphasis on reducing consumer demand for top-of-the-food-chain seafood can help reduce demand by the world's second largest importer of swordfish in order to reduce the fishing effort and give some breathing room for the leatherback. When demand is forced down, the incentive for continuing destructive and unprofitable longline fishing practices will decline.

Cutting the Longline

At a weekend of direct action protests at the National Fisheries Institute's (NFI) October national conference and International

authority over the oceans. It is also using its political clout to subvert eco-labeling, promote longlining and oppose a planned "country of origin labeling" law. NFI's shameless promotion of cheap imported aquaculture drove US shrimper organizations to quit NFI in protest in October 2003 to pursue a trade embargo.

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Saving our oceans from senseless destruction is increasingly gaining steam among as wide a field as the Pew Oceans Commission (which released its report in summer 2003) and the infamous direct action oriented Sea Shepherd.

In fall 2003, the Pacific Fishery Management Council, which manages West Coast fisheries, surprisingly submitted a Fishery Management Plan. At the heart of the plan is a ban on swordfish and tuna fishing in Pacific territorial waters stretching 200 miles.

This emerging consensus is based on a combination of solid marine biology research, activist pressure, and a hefty dose of commonsense. Swordfish are caught using industrial longlines composed of invisible monofilament lines up to 60 miles long and carrying thousands of baited hooks. Each year, longlines float billions of hooks in the Pacific alone. It is a wasteful, indiscriminate fishing method that maims and kills more than 4 million sea turtles, sharks, sea birds, whales, dolphins, porpoises, billfish (such as blue marlin), sea lions and countless other marine species annually. According to a recent stunning World Wildlife Fund report, about 1,000 whales, dolphins and porpoises are killed each day as bycatch from longline and other fishing

impact such a collapse will have on the estimated 1 billion people that rely on primarily small scale fishing for their subsistence livelihoods and protein source. In Chile and the Philippines, for example, subsistence fishers are being pushed out by the privatization of their fisheries as a means to repay international debts. Local access rights are being sold to subsidized foreign industrial fishing vessels exporting to lucrative US, EU and Japanese consumer markets. These industrial fish factories move onto greener waters when they've collapsed a fishery, leaving local populations without income and access to affordable local seafood. At the same time, fishers in the consuming countries are being driven out of business in droves by "cheap" imported fish with huge hidden environmental and social costs.

The international character of the ocean crisis caused by industrial fishing requires international action. In many cases, local solutions are not forthcoming because fisheries management agencies encourage privatization, industrial fishing, and industry self-regulation. Add to that international treaties and conventions that fail to restrain corporate fishing operations and we have a crisis.

With the UN set to increasingly take up the issue of ocean conservation in 2004, starting with efforts to condemn shark finning and encourage an end to the bycatch of target and non-target species in a November 2003 resolution, it is critical that the agenda include a moratorium on longlining. The impact of longlining on the ocean and marine life is comparable to the massive slaughter inflicted by driftnets until they were effectively banned from international waters by the UN in 1991. A UN longline moratorium would be modeled after this successful UN moratorium on driftnet fishing.

Dr. Robert Ovetz is a Marine Species Campaigner with the Sea Turtle Restoration Project. Sign STRP's petition calling for a UN moratorium at www.seaturtles.org. Also see www.savetheleatherback.com. Contact Robert at: robert@seaturtles.org

Seattle's Over Dude

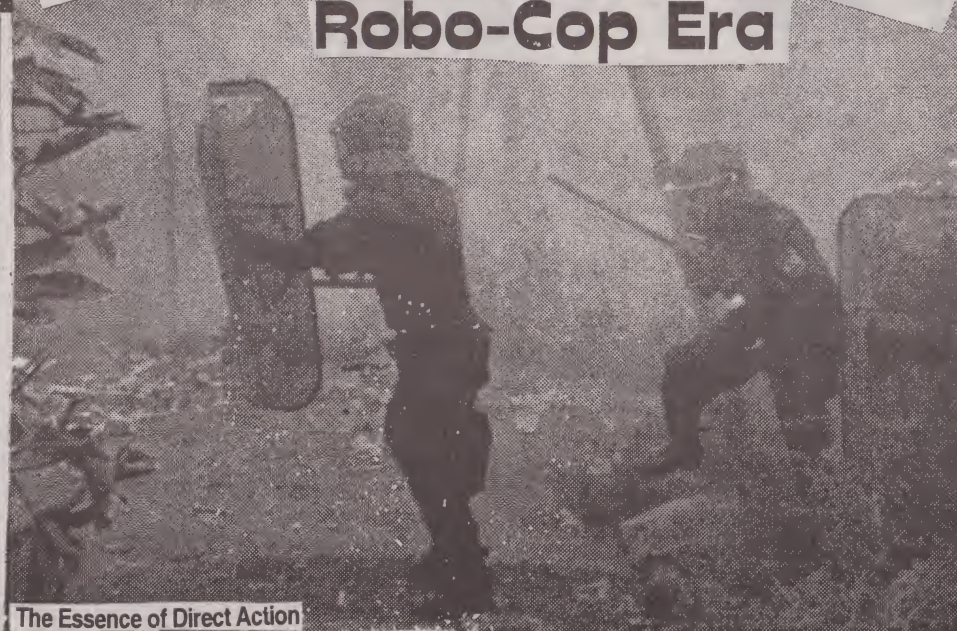
BY I STEVE

Lessons from Miami for the Robo-Cop Era

When we've just gotten our asses thoroughly kicked, often the last thing we want to hear is any criticism, no matter how constructive. So to offset that, let me begin by thanking everyone who came to Miami. Your planet is ruled by those who show up, and you did so under obviously dangerous circumstances. And if the playout reflected tactical inexperience, the blame rests on more experienced activists who didn't come or who, like myself, appeared too late to add to the planning discussions.

These actions are not at all in vain; the large militant turnout at every meeting of corporate globalization has sent the message each time that the conscious people of Earth find this a repugnant wrong turn in the evolution of the whole human species. The demonstrations have contributed vitally to the failure of many negotiations and the watering-down of others, such as the FTAA.

In every city I hear report backs, telling of a city under total militarization, and the repression of even the most innocent spunkiness with a methodical yet thoughtless violence. All this is true. But amidst the disorientation from the surrealism of the police overload, we must not lose sight of our own power under even the most desperate circumstance.



The Essence of Direct Action

To take a homely example. If the butcher weighs one's meat with his thumb on the scale, one may complain about it and tell him he is a bandit who robs the poor, and if he persists and one does nothing else, this is mere talk; one may call the Department of Weights and Measures, and this is indirect action; or one may, talk failing, insist on weighing one's own

or parade marshals, in a city that they have closed down where we are not bothering anyone, our language contributes to their terror-baiting of our movement, and the criminalization of all unsupervised dissent.

Whose Fucking Streets?

Black Blocs were invented in Europe in the 80s. The Bloc would break off from the

situation is hopeless, as it may have been in Miami, let's keep that in mind in our "direct action" plan; that's we're not only surrounded and outnumbered, but paralyzed.

And one last thing, the purpose of meeting up at 7 AM is to blockade someone who meets at 8 AM. Otherwise, as in Miami, for example, where the delegates met in the same hotel they slept in, it just isolates the die-hards, and sleep-deprives the partiers.

The Land of Opportunity

"To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing," said Mao. While this is an exaggeration, if we're never attacked we're probably not being effective.

While direct action often coincides with civil disobedience, the principle is different. The principle of civil disobedience is to not back down against unrighteous force, regardless of the consequences. Tactical direct action is a crime of opportunity. It's about spotting the weakness- tactical, ethical, economic, emotional, whatever- in the opponent and acting on that point. This opportunity doesn't always arise in a demonstration; finding your chance wherever it arises is the direct action life-style.

But protest, and civil disobedience, is worthwhile on its own sake, to speak truth to power. As the Mao quote suggests, if a multi-

to onset that, let me begin by thanking everyone who came to Miami. Your planet is ruled by those who show up, and you did so under obviously dangerous circumstances. And if the payout reflected tactical inexperience, the blame rests on more experienced activists who didn't come or who, like myself, appeared too late to add to the planning discussions.

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The Myth and Reality of Seattle

"...the blockade was organized in open, public meetings and there was nothing secret about our strategy. My suspicion is that our model of organization and decision-making was so foreign to [the police's] picture of what constitutes leadership that they simply could not see what was going on in front of them." Starhawk, "How We Really Shut Down the WTO"

Myths lend meaning to our lives. The Legend of Seattle: People from all walks of life, turtles and teamsters, liberals and anarchists, children to grandpeople, united in a surge of humanity that simply overwhelmed the forces of police repression and corporate dominance. And giant puppets doubled our size! Our vibrant energy created a free zone where all was possible and anything could be created, or destroyed.

There's a lot of truth in the story, of course. So we're inspired to try the same thing over and over. But the tale neglects the roles of dumb luck, on the one hand, and adherence to the basic idea of direct action, on the other. Elements of dumb luck include:

- * The meeting was scheduled in the Pacific Northwest, ground zero for forest defenders, and just a hoppy from the Bay Area.

- * In a city with no tactical police experience



The Essence of Direct Action

To take a homely example. If the butcher weighs one's meat with his thumb on the scale, one may complain about it and tell him he is a bandit who robs the poor, and if he persists and one does nothing else, this is mere talk; one may call the Department of Weights and Measures, and this is indirect action; or one may, talk failing, insist on weighing one's own meat, bring along a scale to check the butcher's weight, take one's business somewhere else, help open a cooperative store, etc., and these are direct actions. David Wieck, "Habits of Direct Action," from Liberation, 1958

In these late days, we may just have to live with the term "direct action" being used to mean civil disobedience, sabotage or violence (granted these actions may at times be direct). So to avoid confusion, I'll ask, how direct are our actions? Substance over symbolism, having a goal, and a reasonable chance of success, are elements of directness. Once we leave the classroom or the butcher shop, actions vary across a continuum of directness. In Seattle, our action plan was kinda direct, because it involved an attempt, although mostly symbolic, to blockade the ministerial. When implemented, the plan became more direct when we succeeded, against probability, in stalling the meetings for hours.

In successive actions, blockading meetings naturally became harder. In DC, the delegates awoke at 4 AM one day to beat the gauntlet. In Philadelphia, the convention was held far from downtown, so disrupting afternoon business as usual became the alternate plan. In Quebec City, unable to surround, people attempted to

or parade marshals, in a city that they have closed down where we are not bothering anyone, our language contributes to their terror-baiting of our movement, and the criminalization of all unsupervised dissent.

Whose Fucking Streets?

Black Blocs were invented in Europe in the 80s. The Bloc would break off from the mainstream march, destroy a few things, and merge back in to the teeming mass. Since then, mass organizers have asked Black Blocs and other such militants to distance themselves from the main group (if they dare exist at all), out of respect for those with different tactical ideas, or who are more vulnerable to police violence: children, aged, and the disabled.

The problem we've seen is that militants blocs are like armor that requires infantry, or 'gators needin' a swamp. In Seattle, we still controlled the city at noon, and the Black Bloc went wild. In San Francisco when the war began, the police had mostly regained control of the streets by noon, and the Black Bloc was mass arrested. In Miami the police controlled every inch of downtown pavement all week, and a teeny Black Bloc was dispersed fifteen blocks away. Nice try.

But regardless of militancy, every mass action should have a traffic management plan. Let's read civil engineering texts on how urban traffic flow is designed. Let's train ourselves in holding intersections as long as possible and flying to the next one, non-violently of course, as part of an overall plan. And if the traffic

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But protest, and civil disobedience, is worthwhile on its own sake, to speak truth to power. As the Mao quote suggests, if a multi-million dollar tyranny arises to prevent the most symbolic gestures, that in itself is a sign of our progress. Don't despair because all you get away with is puppets; speaking your mind under a police state is way more powerful than talking in a democracy.

They will overextend themselves. If not next time the time after, we will get the drop on them again.

"The more you tighten your grip Darth Vader, the more star-systems will slip through your fingers." - Princess Laia



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- * The meeting was scheduled in the Pacific Northwest, ground zero for forest defenders, and just a hop, skip and a jump from the Bay Area.

- * In a city with no tactical police experience since the thirties.

- * The Clinton Administration welcomed, encouraged and condoned the protests, in a cynical plot to channel the energy of the people to extract concessions from poor nations (This backfired).



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In Miami, it was obvious days or weeks ahead that the fence wasn't coming down. Presumably, when people discussed direct action, they referred to symbolic attempts to pull down the fence (with obvious real consequences), or mysterious unannounced affinity group actions. Discussion focused on how those who did not want to do direct action and those who did could accommodate each other. Secrecy and security are important, but it's troubling when no one understands what we mean by direct action except that it "gets the goods."

When we say direct action, we usually mean civil disobedience, sabotage, and occasionally even violence. When the police and the media say violence, they mean civil disobedience, sabotage or any form of direct action. I worry that when we call our behavior direct action, and the police call it violence, and all we're actually doing is protesting without a permit

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REVOLT MUST BE ORGANIZED
BY THE LEFT IN ORDER
TO SUCCEED!



Ronda de Pensamiento Autónomo

PRESENTED

By Stephen Shukaitis

Hundreds of organizers, activists, artists, families, workers, piqueteros — members of asambleas, unions of the unemployed, and self-managed collectives — gathered in a reclaimed warehouse for the Ronda de Pensamiento Autónomo (Round of Autonomous Thinking) January 8-11 at Roca Negra, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. As part of Enero Autónomo (Autonomous January) the gathering sought to discuss and expand upon the concept of autonomy and horizontal practices and movements. From many countries and struggles they gathered to build upon the practices of direct democracy, horizontalism, autonomy, and struggle that unite the many fibers of people and practices into a fabric of passion and hope for bringing the new world in our hearts into existence. Here is the space where these shared stories and dreams meet, where rage meets pragmatism in fruitful dialogue and strategizing.

Roca Negra (Black Rock), as the space is known, is a former chop shop in Lanus, an area on the outskirts of greater Buenos Aires that was reclaimed by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. It is a fitting a space as any, a place that was formerly used for the operations where

the unemployed worker unions that have called for this international gathering.

The hundreds gathered in this space come from many locations and struggles, from the Unemployed Workers Movements (MTDs) and neighborhood assemblies to indigenous communities of the Mapuche and Guarani and activists from the US and Europe. There are members of countless autonomous collectives and self-managed workplaces, including Mujeres Creando (Women Creating) from Bolivia, the Landless Peasants Movement (MST) from Brazil, Autonomista Socialista de Suecia (Sweden), the Worcester Global Action Network (from the US) and Cooperativa La Asableraria (Italy). Coming from many places and experiences the discussion is united by many common features: struggling against the corporate globalization of the Free Trade Area of the Americas, building and sustaining cooperative projects and community organizations, fostering independent media and sources of information, confronting the many varieties of oppression that exist worldwide.

International encuentros such as this one reinforce and make clear the need to build common projects, genuine solidarity, and

support and working together, common projects and work beyond piqueturismo (activist tourism) and fetishizing militant chic. When funding from NGOs, grant making foundations, government sources, and religious charities come with questionable strings attached, the building and maintaining of truly autonomous movements necessitate webs of support that enable the maintenance of dignity and self-determination. Poverty pimping and paternalism don't magically disappear when the situation becomes international.

While it is important to appreciate the beauty and resistance displayed by organizers in Argentina, Brazil, and everywhere, it is also important to not overly idealize such movements or to forget the situations they face. For instance, while the work of MTD La Matanza and Solano is amazing and encouraging (and largely responsible for bringing together this gathering), these unions represent only a small portion of the unemployed workers who are involved in such organizations, many of whom are being co-opted and bureaucratized by the Argentinean state as it continues to repress the more radical organizers. Many of the community asambleas (neighborhood associations) that formed after the December

The point of such observation is not to deny the validity or importance of such organizing, but to realize that if we as activists and organizers want to understand, support, learn from, and from with organizations not just from Argentina but anywhere in the world, it makes little sense to try to do so without gaining a fuller understanding of the political situation. Building common projects and forums of understanding means interacting with the situation as a whole, and not just the organizers whose politics and practice comes closest to the kinds of organizations that we find most desirable.

There is much to be gained by the formation and maintenance of such networks and spaces of dialogue, passion, and autonomous thought, strategy, and action — but also much to lose if idealism prevents seeing the situation in full view and acting upon such. Imagining new worlds cannot blind us to the harshness of the existing world, or to overlook the inevitable growing pains as words from the heart and social creativity expand to meet the challenges of today and tomorrow.

Enero Autónomo: www.eneroautonomo.org.ar

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Roca Negra (Black Rock), as the space is known, is a former chop shop in Lanus, an area on the outskirts of greater Buenos Aires that was reclaimed by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo. It is a fitting a space as any, a place that was formerly used for the operations where those screwed by economic conditions would steal from others to survive — a place that is now used for the growing of vegetables and raising of livestock to support the members of

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International encuentros such as this one reinforce and make clear the need to build common projects, genuine solidarity, and connections of mutual aid between radical organizations. Through many discussions any emphasis was placed on how solidarity must go beyond fundraising to genuine political

support and working together, common projects and work beyond piquetismo (activist tourism) and fetishizing militant chic. When funding from NGOs, grant making foundations, government sources, and religious charities come with questionable strings attached, the building and maintaining of truly autonomous movements necessitate webs of support that enable the maintenance of dignity and self-determination. Poverty pimping and paternalism don't magically disappear when the situation becomes international.

While it is important to appreciate the beauty and resistance displayed by organizers in Argentina, Brazil, and everywhere, it is also important to not overly idealize such movements or to forget the situations they face. For instance, while the work of MTD La Matanza and Solano is amazing and encouraging (and largely responsible for bringing together this gathering), these unions represent only a small portion of the unemployed workers who are involved in such organizations, many of whom are being co-opted and bureaucratized by the Argentinean state as it continues to repress the more radical organizers. Many of the community asambleas (neighborhood associations) that formed after the December 2001 financial crisis have since fallen apart as things have become more stabilized and the middle class has been bought back into the system, even if slowly.

The point of such observation is not to deny the validity or importance of such organizing, but to realize that if we as activists and organizers want to understand, support, learn from, and from with organizations not just from Argentina but anywhere in the world, it makes little sense to try to do so without gaining a fuller understanding of the political situation. Building common projects and forums of understanding means interacting with the situation as a whole, and not just the organizers whose politics and practice comes closest to the kinds of organizations that we find most desirable.

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Enero Autónomo: www.eneroautonomo.org.ar

Miami:

A

PERSONAL

ACCOUNT

By Molly Coddle

Being at the FTAA protest in Miami in November was both amazing and brutal. Besides proving to me that the anti-authoritarian movements in the US must continue networking to increase the efficacy of public confrontation, I saw incredible community built by locals and transplanted activists. It was a great lesson that being

Police Chief Timoney, who orchestrated the paramilitary repression of protest, is one psychotic MF.

The Food Not Bombs operation at the space was one of the finest I've seen. With at least 4 food pickups a day, and so much food left over that we gave some back, the generosity of local grocers and distributors was incredible. Meals were served downtown and at the

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capitalism and its tools, we need to learn from international movements and drop our fears. As long as we depend on the state and capitalism, for education, food, transportation or housing, they will continue to oppress us. Two delegations that were noticeably absent from the action were Indigenous people and small farmers—both under assault in this

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I was one of the protesters who showed up at the FTAA convergence space on Wednesday at noon, with a little bit of jet lag. So I'll first give a huge thank you to the people who got there days or weeks early and made food, sleep, outreach and media arrangements and to those who stayed late to do legal support.

Before I arrived, lots of people had said that "Miami" didn't want us there, that there were no radical people, that there was no support. Rumors even circulated that some people were paid to protest. While it's true that the resistant infrastructure could use some love, the people we met were generous, supportive, and scared of what FTAA might do to their families in the States or in Latin America. Knowing that police brutality is a regular occurrence for many residents, I don't blame them for not showing up with rocks or molotovs.

There are three reasons why I go to large protests: to participate in public resistance, to join a temporary autonomous zone, and to smash the state. Usually, I feel success on the first two, and Miami was only different in the degree of brutality inflicted on protesters. If anyone needs proof that the police state is thriving in the US, Miami demonstrated it.

Police Chief Timoney, who orchestrated the paramilitary repression of protest, is one psychotic MF.

The Food Not Bombs operation at the space was one of the finest I've seen. With at least 4 food pickups a day, and so much food left over that we gave some back, the generosity of local grocers and distributors was incredible. Meals were served downtown and at the convergence space, with approximately 2000 people fed per sitting.

The community garden, which I never actually saw!, left a living reminder for Miami of what the protest was about. Clean air, green space and drinkable water are essentials--and FTAA will make them all scarcer. It will leave a more permanent mark than anything else we did there, in noticeable contrast to the low-wage, dead-end jobs that FTAA will usher in.

As far as confrontations, transportation (spotty) and the weather (sticky) definitely gave a home-team advantage to the police, and Miami is a town without alleys or public parks. Even the churches downtown were locked.

Tactically, Miami was a beating in the streets. From Sunday to Sunday, police rounded up protesters, arrested pedestrians, conducted illegal searches and gassed or beat crowds. By my best estimate, 10% of non-union protesters were arrested and many more subject to police violence. Buses holding thousands of protesters were blocked from entering Miami Dade County. Far from being provoked, the police was pro-active in its oppression and violence.

While I was downtown on Thursday night with friends feeding homeless people, we were stopped and illegally searched by a troop of bicycle cops who claimed that "God was in

charge" and threatened us with "fifty thousand volts of electricity" from a tazer for waiting on a corner to cross the street. One cop asked why "a girl like you would shave her head" and I told him I had cancer. Which is totally possible--I haven't seen a doctor since I lost my health insurance. He took it like a kick in the balls and I had the "privilege" of a less-than-thorough (illegal) pat down. It felt good to get one direct hit. When I found out later that queer people had been assaulted and tortured in prison, a knot tied up my intestines. I feel for those folks. It could have been me.

After more than 150 arrests on Wednesday and Thursday, for "offenses" as egregious as breathing, there was a fabulous jail solidarity march and rally in front of the prison. With drums and signs and our lungs, we let those on the inside know that we were grateful and working toward bail. Although no one outside knew at the time, some friends in prison told me that our presence helped them do solidarity and make demands for lawyers and food and release. And then, there were riot cops. Timoney (or someone) had arranged for the protest to be surrounded on three sides by riot cops armed with everything but AK-47s. Police negotiators told the press, before they told protesters, that we had three minutes to disperse or be gathered illegally. While the street spokes council kept talking, affinity groups took to the sidewalk. If I hadn't walked home through the projects (where police know better than to go), I probably would have been rounded up like dozens of other people who left peacefully.

If anarchism or radicalism or anti-capitalist resistance is ever going to dismantle

capitalism and its tools, we need to learn from international movements and drop our fears. As long as we depend on the state and capitalism, for education, food, transportation or housing, they will continue to oppress us. Two delegations that were noticeably absent from the action were Indigenous people and small farmers--both under assault in this country since Roanoke and the Great Depression, respectively. The people I met in the Miami projects loved what we were doing,



but didn't join us. People with skin and social privilege must find a way to minimize risk for those people (people of color, immigrants, queers) who are most targeted for police brutality so that they can participate in resistance without additional oppression.

About three blocks from the convergence center on Friday afternoon, two Latino men in a pickup truck stopped to talk to me and a friend, both dressed in black with bandannas.

"Watch out for drug dealers in this neighborhood," one told me.

"I'd rather meet any dealer than any cop in this town today," I replied.

"Well, I'm glad you all came down here. I didn't think any white people gave a shit about me. But my family in El Salvador needs clean water and it doesn't look good," he said. "We'll have to keep working on this."

Yes...we will.

Terrorism:

Continued from page 1

copyrighted intellectual property within the definition of terrorism is but one piece of circumstantial evidence that backs up this assertion. That it would make sense at all to seek to expand the coverage of the term "terrorism" in this manner is underpinned by the *systemic* role which the phenomenon of terrorism is to play in the emerging global capitalist order.

The Capitalist System

For the purposes of this article, a system may be incompletely defined as a set of distinct and superficially independent entities, the behavior of which is determined by essential connections and interrelations between them, which cannot be observed when observing the distinct entities. A defining characteristic of a system is that it is hidden from (cannot be affected by) the entities form part of that system.

A living body is an example of a system, comprising distinct elements such as organs. If an observer were to stay within the limits of a living body, observing the various organs, fluids, etc. that can be found within it, it would be altogether opaque what the nature of a living body as such is. A living body becomes recognizable as a living body only when viewed within the context of the broader environment

product of the activities of the ruled class no less (and in certain respects much more so) than those of the ruling class. Likewise, while the interests of the system and of certain groups within the system may appear to coincide in some respects, the interests of the capitalist system are distinct from the interests of the capitalist ruling class.

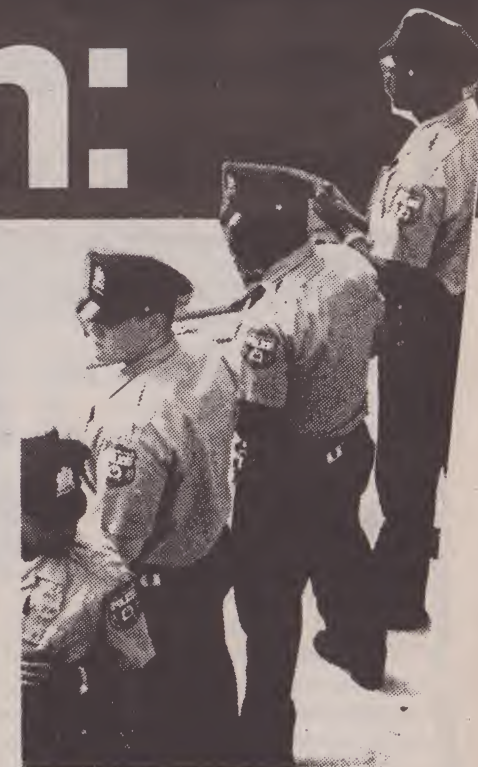
There may be some lack of clarity here as to what, if anything, the system per se actually constitutes beyond a theoretical construct. There is no simple answer to this question. The system is not a separate entity that is comparable to the various entities that are components of that system. However, at the most concrete level, the system can be conceived of as the set of relationships that results from the totality of the actions of all the components of the system, and which substantially determine the subsequent actions of those components.

Thus, when a given component, say a person or a nation, takes a certain action which has certain consequences, those consequences of that action which affect the overall status or operation of the system can be seen as being actions of the system. When such consequences in turn cause a member of the system to take a certain action, that action can be viewed as an action of the system. It follows from this that

threatens the possibility for further competition, and thus the capitalist system itself. This can be seen as being an inherent contradiction of capitalism.

The need for more fodder for the system — more things of value to compete for — has brought about what is often referred to as the process of globalization. However, as the capitalist system globalizes, the sphere of competition — what is available to compete over — necessarily shrinks: the inherent contradictions of capitalism that drive globalization are not resolved by it, but merely expand to a global scale. This process creates pressure on the system to create situations that will promote the dynamic by which the system is sustained.

The primary objective of the capitalist system as such, or of any system, for that matter, is self-preservation: ensuring the continued existence of the system, insofar as possible. To this end, an operative objective of the capitalist system is that it remain opaque to its members. That is to say, the capitalist system, as a system, must conceal itself from



in this direction. At a systemic level, it is this requirement of the system itself that underlies the often forced and violent nature of the imposition of globalization measures. This systemic requirement underlies the imposition of policies by the advanced

The demand for war under advanced global capitalism exceeds the supply that can be offered by the traditional war model. Thus, the need for new sorts of wars emerges.



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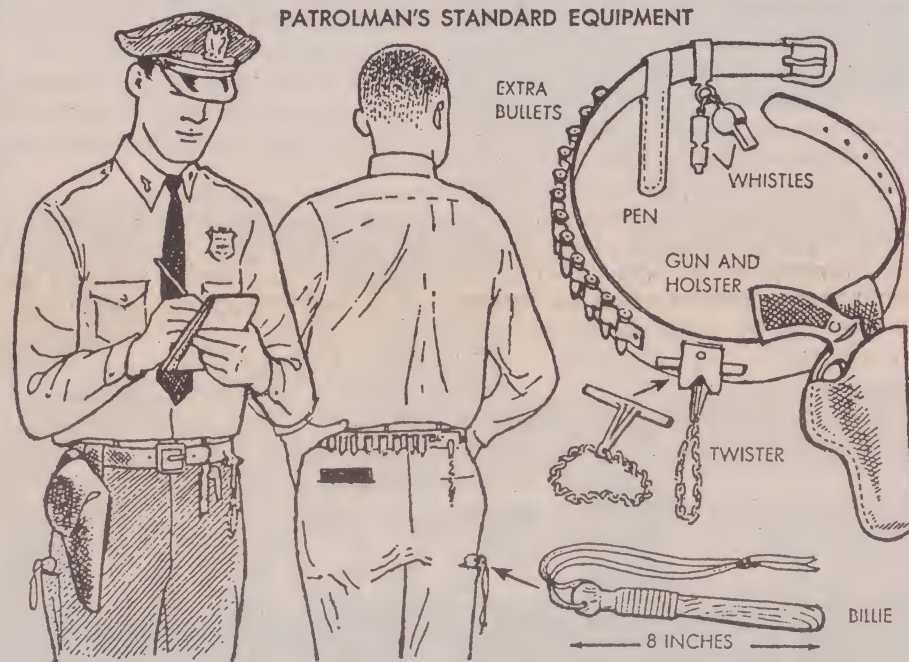
capitalist powers on the "developing" regions (i.e. those where people have not been making

distinct and superficially independent entities, the behavior of which is determined by essential connections and interrelations between them, which cannot be observed when observing the district entities. A defining characteristic of a system is that it is hidden from (cannot be affected by) the entities form part of that system.

A living body is an example of a system, comprising distinct elements such as organs. If an observer were to stay within the limits of a living body, observing the various organs, fluids, etc. that can be found within it, it would be altogether opaque what the nature of a living body as such is. A living body becomes recognizable as a living body only when viewed within the context of the broader environment

comparable to the various entities that are components of that system. However, at the most concrete level, the system can be conceived of as the set of relationships that results from the totality of the actions of all the components of the system, and which substantially determine the subsequent actions of those components.

Thus, when a given component, say a person or a nation, takes a certain action which has certain consequences, those consequences of that action which affect the overall status or operation of the system can be seen as being actions of the system. When such consequences in turn cause a member of the system to take a certain action, that action can be viewed as an action of the system. It follows from this that



in which it exists, such as the system of nature, or the system of the universe. In other words, a system can be recognized as such only when seen in the context of some greater system of which it in turn is part. Consequently, the greatest system, i.e. the universe, must necessarily remain fundamentally opaque to us. By the same token, we have no way of changing the universe as a whole. The system of the universe defines and delimits the range and nature of actions which we can take or conceive of taking.

The system which we shall consider here is the currently existing system of human socioeconomic relations, frequently referred

to as the system. However, at the most concrete level, the system can be conceived of as the set of relationships that results from the totality of the actions of all the components of the system, and which substantially determine the subsequent actions of those components.

Feeding the System

Next, let us briefly (and no doubt

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any action that could terminate the operation of the system, and thus from any critical insight that could lead to such action.

Insofar as the interests of the capitalist ruling class lie in preserving the capitalist system, they consist likewise in preventing the possibility of any critical insight on the system: the relationships that define and are defined by the capitalist system must be submerged and dissipated in other relationships, the opposition to or overturning of which will not disable the operation of the system itself. That is to say, given its nature, the capitalist system is bound to produce substantial discontent among many of its members.

Such discontent can in turn serve, directly or indirectly, as a motivation to develop critical insight or take critical action against the source of that discontent. The goal of the system is to channel that discontent into some other, sub-systemic sphere, in which it may be dissipated without impinging on the continued existence of the system. As we shall see, the "war on terror" is one such sphere.

The competitive capitalist system

in this direction. At a systemic level, it is this requirement of the system itself that underlies the often forced and violent nature of the imposition of globalization measures. This systemic requirement underlies the imposition of policies by the advanced

capitalist powers on the "developing" regions (i.e. those where people have not been making enough effort to accumulate).

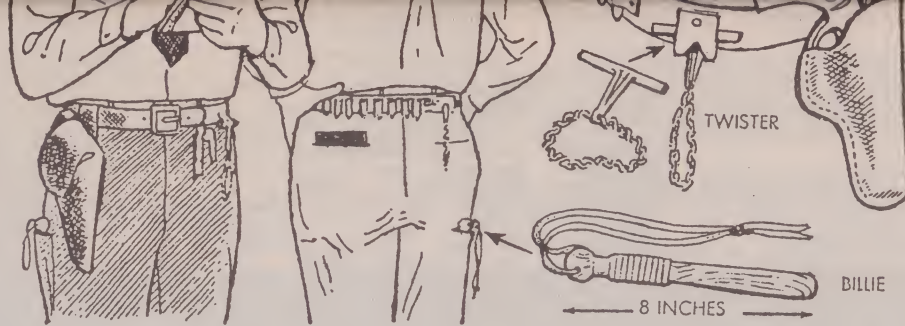
The process of globalization thus has two sides: the accumulation of "developing" capital by the ruling classes of advanced capitalist powers, and the furtherance of accumulation efforts on the part of "developing" people. The claim often proffered by proponents of globalization, to the effect that "we just want to make them rich", is thus not entirely false. However, the dual nature of globalization can often lead to the opposite, but systemically not undesired, result. Indeed, given the fact that capital accrues from prior capital, such a result is to be expected.

By this very same process, globalization, which seeks to expand the capitalist economy, inevitably ends up shrinking the dynamic or motivating source for that expansion. As the process of capitalist competition globally sorts itself out into winners and losers, the excitement of the game naturally dissipates. To reinvigorate its essential dynamic above and beyond what the natural limits to the process of expansion will allow, the capitalist system employs the technique of abnormal conflict, i.e. war.

Shifting Sources of War

Such conflict is abnormal not in the sense that it is unusual, but rather in the sense that it deviates from the primary modality of conflict

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The system which we shall consider here is the currently existing system of human socioeconomic relations, frequently referred to as the capitalist system. It should be noted that capitalism here refers not to an ideology or belief, but to a mode of production or a system of economic organization, where by economy we mean the set of practices, devices and arrangements by which people secure whatever is necessary for them to live. The term capitalist is also used to denote a certain set of people within this economic system; for the sake of clarity, such people will be referred to here as the (capitalist) ruling class.

What role does the phenomenon known as the "war on terror" play within the capitalist system? It should be noted that when we speak of the objectives, needs, etc. of the capitalist system, we are not speaking about the objectives, etc. of any group of people. While it may make sense to say that the capitalist ruling class has a certain commitment to, or interest in, maintaining the capitalist system, whereas other groups of people may not have, or may have less of, such commitment or interest, the capitalist system includes the ruled class as much as the ruling class, and is a

we cannot act outside of the system; however, this does not preclude the possibility of taking actions that will substantially modify the subsequent behavior of the system, even to such an extent that the system could be said to pass out of existence.

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incompletely) examine the mode of operation of the capitalist system, particularly with respect to its most recent trends.

The dynamic of competition is a requirement for the capitalist system. The goal pursued by the players in this competition is generally characterized as being the accumulation of capital (that which has value). Since capital itself is the feedstock for further accumulation of capital ("it takes money to make money"), the process of competition for accumulation necessarily leads to increasing concentration of capital.

But since capital is the primary requisite for participating in capitalist competition, increasing concentration of capital reduces the field of players on which the dynamic of competition depends. The increasing concentration of capital consequently

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By this very same process, globalization, which seeks to expand the capitalist economy, inevitably ends up shrinking the dynamic or motivating source for that expansion. As the process of capitalist competition globally sorts itself out into winners and losers, the excitement of the game naturally dissipates. To reinvigorate its essential dynamic above and beyond what the natural limits to the process of expansion will allow, the capitalist system employs the technique of abnormal conflict, i.e. war.

Shifting Sources of War

Such conflict is abnormal not in the sense that it is unusual, but rather in the sense that it deviates from the primary modality of conflict, i.e. market competition. Traditionally, war was waged by one state actor, or a group of state actors, against another. There are, however, certain constraints as to the sort of war the capitalist system can allow. This stems from the fact that war, while serving to reinvigorate the economic processes of capitalism, can also potentially destabilize the capitalist order sufficiently to create an opening for critical insight and action against that order. The allowable scale of destruction is thus substantially constrained.

We may gain insight to this at the systemic level by observing that, under globalization, with the shrinking dynamic of capitalist competition that it inevitably brings about, the possibility for traditional war likewise shrinks. This is not to say that such a possibility has been eliminated: rather, the point here is that the demand for war under advanced global capitalism exceeds the supply that can be offered by the traditional war model. Thus, the need for new sorts of wars emerges. Most

Continued on page 19

Normalizing the global cop

recently, this has manifested in the form of the war on terror.

In the early stages of capitalism, the primary modus operandi in the military sphere was conquest and colonization, sometimes accompanied by extermination of the conquered peoples. The United States itself was created by this very mechanism. With

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elements. Notable among these is "National Missile Defense", i.e. the creation of space-based weapons platforms that would enable the global ruling class to instantaneously neutralize threats within what is to become the normal course of affairs under a global policing regime. Biotechnology or genetic engineering is another pillar in this edifice, which aims to allow the ruling class to shape the genetic structure of beings within its domain in accordance with the requirements of the global capitalist system. Discontent with the global system that cannot be allayed through technologies of psychological control, such as the media, entertainment and religion industries, is to be channeled into and neutralized under the category of terrorism.

Nothing is Eternal

While more can be said about the details and mechanisms of this emerging order, what is perhaps most notable about it is the fact that

race, absorbed in fighting the terror and mass destruction of its own making, will forego the avenues for its continued existence and expire along with the failing system of socioeconomic relations under which it has most recently lived. But neither is it inevitable.

The changes that would have to be made in the human economy, that is, the human way of life, in order to continue living, are substantial and beyond the scope of any individual's cognitive capacity. While we can reasonably say that such changes would have to be radical and revolutionary, we cannot draw up a complete blueprint of exactly how this process of change should or would take place, nor should we delude ourselves in trying to do so. While social revolution is frequently conceived of as a political or institutional transition, the sort of change that is needed here can perhaps be more aptly described as civilizational. The revolution that transformed the feudal system

While the effort to accumulate capital may not prominently characterize the behavior of absolutely all people today, it is an objective of the capitalist system to make it so.

it is utterly incapable of resolving the substantive problems which people face today. In its advanced phase, the capitalist system becomes most dangerous. Nothing is eternal, and as the capitalist economic system nears the end of its evolutionary potential and its

to the modern capitalist order was a long, tumultuous process that altered nearly all aspects of life. There is no reason to believe that the next revolution will fulfill itself through some quick and painless exercise.

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it is utterly incapable of resolving the substantive problems which people face today. In its advanced phase, the capitalist system becomes most dangerous. Nothing is eternal, and as the capitalist economic system nears the end of its evolutionary potential and its ability to sustain life degrades, it becomes most blinding as to the possibilities of resolving the problems which the system presents. The war on terror is but the latest if not the last manifestation of this blinding effect. It is not inconceivable, given the means of destruction we have deployed to safeguard our "freedom" from each other, that the human

to the modern capitalist order was a long, tumultuous process that altered nearly all aspects of life. There is no reason to believe that the next revolution will fulfill itself through some quick and painless exercise.

It is proposed here that, in approaching the nontrivial task of our survival in the face of collapse of the system by which we live, we must begin by gaining insight into the operation of that system. If we understand the problems facing us to be systemic, our analysis of those problems must likewise be systemic. While the capitalist system is not directly visible to us in itself, we can discern it by observing it within the context of other systems, such as the system of nature, or the system of human history. Such analysis is significant not as an intellectual exercise, but as a basis for action which we may take in accordance with our findings. Those findings



further development of the capitalist system, as more sophisticated modalities of control emerged, conquest per se largely ceased to be appropriate.

The process here is analogous, for instance, to the transition from slave labor to wage labor that occurred in the US domestically around the time of the Civil War. The newer modalities of control are more sophisticated in the sense that they are more difficult to discern or oppose. In this regard it may also be mentioned that any such modality can be effective only for so long, as eventually it becomes identified and opposition to it emerges, for instance the anti-imperialist or anti-colonial tendency that led to the

providing a controlled sphere into which discontent with the system can be released, concealing the system that is the source of that discontent, and neutralizing any activity that may threaten the continued existence of that system.

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Slingshot Time Machine

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Normalization of Terror

The role of criminals — transgressors against the established social order — is more or less analogous to the role of war as discussed above. In this regard, the police have served the role not so much of fighting and eliminating, but rather of normalizing crime (where “normalizing” can be understood to mean “allowing it to occur within the normal course of social events”, i.e. without fundamentally destabilizing the social order). Crime, in turn, serves to normalize the policing apparatus which superficially fights it. The fact that police forces can and often do themselves engage in crime is, from a systemic point of view, neither surprising nor problematic, as police and criminals both serve the same operative purpose of the capitalist system.

The role of the criminal within this operative purpose is now passing to the post of terrorists, and to be arrayed against them is the global police state. Much as the local police

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2008

Operation Canadian Freedom

Washington DC — October 1, 2008 — With just weeks remaining before President Bush's historic run for a third term, the Bush Administration announced that the first ground troops had crossed the Canadian border, beginning Operation Canadian Freedom.

“Coalition forces from 64 nations have begun the battle to liberate the Canadian people, who have suffered under years of tyrannical free health care and legalized gay marriage,” commented Bush in a nationally televised address from the Oval Office. “We know that some of the terrorists who attacked us on September 11 came to the US from Canada. Canada is a clear and present danger to the freedoms that we Americans hold so dear,” said Bush.

Reporters embedded with the Third Infantry Division reported only slight resistance, with three soldiers injured when their Humvee struck a moose.

Bush went to war after Canada refused to turn-over its weapons of mass destruction, although Canada denied having any such weapons and repeated inspections by United Nations weapons inspectors had found no weapons. “We know that Canada must have weapons of mass destruction, because they have repeatedly denied having weapons of mass destruction — what are they trying to hide?” Bush told the nation.

Flag waving TV reporters were present at Niagara Falls as tens of thousands of American troops, and hundreds of thousands of private contractors from the nation's top multinational corporations, crossed the border. The Army's newest weapon, the \$46 million mobile McDonalds attack restaurant, saw its first combat with an early morning Big Mac attack. The invasion force also included troops from the 63 other coalition countries — 6 foreign troops in all.

After the president's address, the President's spokesperson dismissed protests from members of the international community. “We have the mutherfucking nuclear weapons — so shut the fuck up! You're next!” He also denied that the invasion had anything to do with the upcoming presidential election. The election will be the first time a president has sought a third term since the 22nd Amendment was repealed in 2005.

As soon as the invasion was announced, the Department of Homeland Security announced that it was increasing the nations' threat level to Red — banning all public assemblies of 5 or more people for fear that terrorists could attack public gatherings. Citizens were advised to stay indoors and monitor television programming for further instructions. All sports events will proceed as scheduled.

operation of that system. If we understand the problems facing us to be systemic, our analysis of those problems must likewise be systemic. While the capitalist system is not directly visible to us in itself, we can discern it by observing it within the context of other systems, such as the system of nature, or the system of human history. Such analysis is significant not as an intellectual exercise, but as a basis for action which we may take in accordance with our findings. Those findings must be substantially correct, as our life depends on them; and thus our analytical approach must be highly reliable.

With respect to the war on terror, we conclude that, for those who value life, this is not the right war to fight. Ultimately, supporting, opposing or otherwise participating in the war on terror is immaterial and can do little to change the reality of terror, the source of which lies elsewhere.

In putting forward the necessity for proper analysis as a basis for valid action, we do not preclude the engagement in actions which, under such an analysis, would not be fully valid. Little of what we do will be fully valid or fully effective in achieving the goals which we should like to pursue. The validity and utility of such actions emerges in what we can learn from them, and in the progress that we can make based on such lessons. Thus, we must engage in such actions, including political actions, in the manner of experimenters and students, not professors and priests. More importantly, we must not, in engaging in such actions, abrogate the search for yet more valid action. In making vague denunciations of the capitalist order as bad, we must not deceive ourselves that we must thus be any better.

While some may see the task before us as being primarily a matter of enlisting enough people in an anticapitalist movement, we conclude here that the primary task is discovering the paths that will lead us toward solutions to the problems of global capitalism. The reason global capitalism persists to this day is precisely because the solutions to its problems have so far not been discovered. The process of discovery of such solutions is in itself a necessary and sufficient condition for resolving those problems.

Action Calendar!

February

February 14 • 12pm

Valentines Day Reclaim the Streets
Meet at Haight and Stanyon at 12 and
We'll hit the streets by 1.

February 19 • 8pm

Benefit to support political prisoner Jeff
"Free" Luers. "Free" has served over 3 years
of an outrageous 22.5 years sentence for the
burning of 3 SUV's in Eugene, Oregon. Help
with legal costs! Come to Artist Television
Access, 922 Valencia St., S.F. \$5. More info on
www.freefreenow.org

February 20 • 8pm

"Afropunk," a documentary exploring race
issues within the punk scene. Showing at the
Longhaul infoshop, 3124 Shattuck Ave. in
Berkeley.

February 22 • 1pm

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting at the
Longhaul Infoshop in Berkeley, 3124 Shattuck
Ave.

February 24 • 2pm

Berkeley Mardi Gras Parade: Gather at
Peoples Park at 2pm. Hoppaluya!!!

February 24

Global Day of Action! Protest the War
Profiteer Corporations that have

reconstruction contracts in Iraq. Speak out
for Iraqi workers rights and self-
determination! Please tell us about your
planned protest so we can advertise it as part
of the national day of action. Email
peace@globalexchange.org.

February 29 • 6pm

UNIVERSAL UPRISING ON LEAP DAY!!!
Gather in Berkeley at Berkeley BART at 6 to
rampage through downtown and build
foundations for a world based on cooperation,
freedom, mutual aid and respect for the earth.

March

March 7 • 7pm

An Introduction to Non-Violent Communication
from an Anarchist Perspective. At the
Longhaul Infoshop in Berkeley, 3124 Shattuck
Ave.

March 12 • 5:30pm

Berkeley Critical Mass. Meet at Berkeley
BART.

March 13 • 10-6pm

9th Annual Anarchist Book Fair! In the SF
County Fair Building, Golden Gate Park.

March 14 • 10-6pm

4th Annual Anarchist Conference hosted by
BASTARD. Location TBA. Check sfbay-anarchists.org.

March 20

Global Day of Action on the first Anniversary
of the Bombing and Invasion of Iraq. Mass
marches in D.C. and S.F. Check
www.unitedforpeace.org for more info.

March 26 • 6pm

San Francisco Critical Mass. Meet at Justin
Herman Plaza.

April

April 20 • 4:20pm

Safety Break! Fire 'em up at Peoples Park in
Berkeley.

April 25

Washington, D.C. National March for Choice;
organized by NOW. Go to
www.marchforchoice.org for more info.

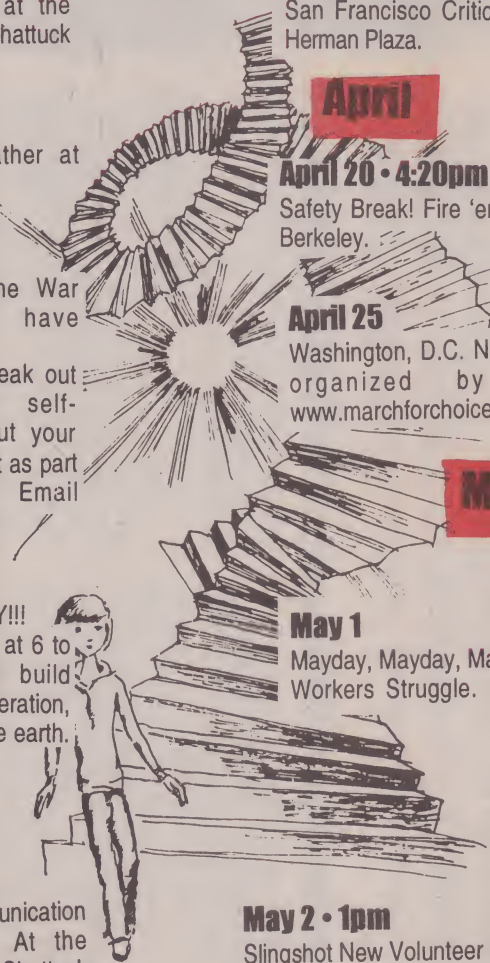
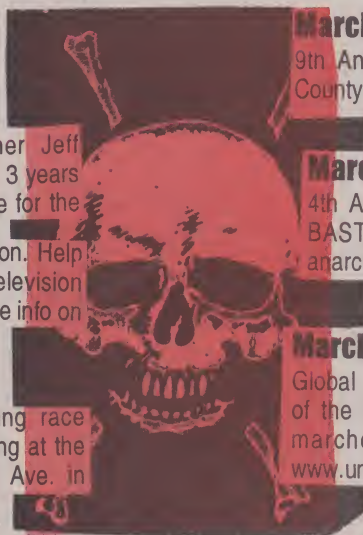
May

May 1

Mayday, Mayday, Mayday! International Day of
Workers Struggle.

May 2 • 1pm

Slingshot New Volunteer Meeting
at the Longhaul Infoshop in Berkeley, 3124
Shattuck Ave.



3124 Shattuck Ave. • Berkeley, Calif. • 510 540-0751

Open Mon-Thurs 6-9 • Sun 3-11

Events Calendar
www.thelonghaul.org

Radical Reading room • Lending Library • Archive • Radical Resource Center • Book & Zine Shop

Long Haul Infoshop Radical Library

3124 Shattuck Ave.
Berkeley, CA 94705

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If you mail ordered a 2004 Slingshot Organizer, here's a sample copy-see page 2.
If last issue on your label reads "80" see page 2 to continue your subscription or you will be deleted.

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